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Heritage and Identity in the Turkic World

Contemporary Scholarship in Memory of Ilse
Laude-Cirtautas (1926–2019)

Edited by
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Dedicated to the memory of Ilse apa (1926–2019)
and all those from Central and Inner Asia who,
surrounded by the spirits of their ancestors,
continue to guide us.



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Kağan Arık and Elmira Köchümkulova

Introduction

“Jaqsy men Jaman”¹

*Bireudüj aspanda jür дәреjesi,
Bireudüj kökte qoby, jerde basy.
Jaqsynyň jaman menen airmasy,
Oylasan jermen köktüj eki arasy.
Jıgtke aqyl pana, oym qorğan,
Sabyr saqtar jıgıttı qazğan ordan.
Körmegendi kördüm dep aitqan adam,
Bılseñız ol bır jaman hauannan.*

“The Good and the Bad”

The likes of one walk the azure high,
The other reaches up but cannot fly.
Is not what separates the good from the bad,
What separates ground from blue sky?
Mind is the warrior’s shield, thought—his fortress.
From the waiting ditch, patience protects.
But he who lies, bearing false witness,
Does he not lower than beasts regress?

A Kyrgyz *koşok*,² lamentation song

1 Birjan Qojağululy (1834–1897) is a famous *sal* (a type of oral poet) of the Altay Kazakhs. This short poem is excerpted from one of his songs improvised during an *aitys* (oral poetry contest). This version appeared in Halife Altay’s book *Anayurttan Anadolı’ya*, 1981. It also appeared, along with its rendering by Kağan Arık, in *Alatau: Journal of the Association for the Promotion of Kazakh Studies*, Vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1992, University of Washington, Seattle. The version presented here uses the most recent version of the official Kazakh Latin Alphabet (2022). This poem exemplifies the fundamental wisdom and attitude of the *bulge kısı*, or wise person, among the Kazakhs and other Turkic peoples, and also illustrates the values that Professor Laude-Cirtautas (1926–2019) wished to impart to her students as future scholars. “Never say or write anything unless you are absolutely positive that it is true and you can prove it!”, she would say. “The red pen of editing is the sword of the scholar!”, she would also add, with her unmistakable *Lebhaftigkeit*, as scholarship was indeed her fundamental passion.

2 These verse lines from a traditional Kyrgyz lamentation song (Kyrgyz: *koşok*; Kazakh, *joqtaw*) are sung by daughters when they mourn the death of their mother. They are used here to symbolically reflect the mother-figure role that Laude-Cirtautas played in the lives and careers of many Central Asian and American students and scholars. Laude-Cirtautas’s students affectionately called her Ilse *apa* (*apa-Kaz.*, *Kyr.*, *opa-Uz.*), an honorific title reserved for a respected, older woman in the community (Uzbek, Kazakh), also meaning mother (Kyrgyz). In Central Asian nomadic culture, *sandık* (treasure chest) contained all of the family’s valuable items and was built with four legs (base) for support. *Sandık* is usually placed on the *tör*, a seat of honor located opposite to the entrance and used for stacking the *jük*, i.e., sleeping mats, blankets and pillows. “White” symbolizes purity. The “white *sandık*” refers to the pure

Apakem,
Ak sandıktın butu ele,
Ak saray üidün kutu ele.
Apakemdin közü ötüp,
Ak sandıktan but ketti,
Ak saray üidön kut ketti.
Apakem,
Kimkaptan körpö kaptagan,
Kızdarım jakşı bolsun dep,
Kırgyiek kuştay taptagan.
Barkıttan körpö kaptagan,
Baldarım jakşı bolsun dep,
Balapan kuştay taptagan.

My dear mother,
 You were like the base of the white *sandık* [treasure chest]
 You were the *kut* [good fortune] of our white house.
 Now that my dear mother has passed away,
 The base of the white *sandık* broke,
 The *kut* of the white house left.
 My dear mother
 She sewed coverings from *parcha* silk.
 So that her daughters would grow up well,
 She trained them like young goshawks.
 She sewed coverings from velvet silk.
 So that her sons would grow up well,
 She trained them like young hunting birds.

The opening Kazakh poem gives instructions on how to be a good thinker, and the Kyrgyz *koşok* represents feelings of mourning, much like we are enduring for our Ilse apa, who had a strong passion for teaching Central Asian Turkic languages and admired Central Asian cultural traditions and customs. In Central Asian traditions, the mourning period is followed by the final mandatory memorial feast honoring the deceased (Kyr. *aş*; Kaz. *as*; Uz. *osh*). The *aş* feast entails a sacrifice of livestock, from which members of the community are fed, followed by horse races, poet competitions (Kyr. *aytış*), etc.

Ilse apa would speak quite fondly about the importance of the *aş* ceremony. Honoring the spirit (Kyr. *arbak* Kaz. *aruaq*, Uzb. *arvoh*) of one's deceased parents and ancestors stands at the core of the Turkic belief system, cultural traditions and religious identity. In Turkic cultures, it is often the duty of the male children to organize *aş* so that the spirit of the deceased parent feels content, rests in peace in the other world and gives bless-

household that the mother had built. The mother is likened to the base that supported the “white *sandık*” or “pure household.” *Kut* is good fortune. As the mother is said to be the one who brings good fortune to the family, the mother is the creator of the family and the one who provides the warmth, much like a hearth. In the second stanza, the mother's upbringing of her daughters and sons is likened to the training that hunting birds undergo in nomadic culture.

ings for the surviving children to live happily. If all of Ilse apa's Central Asian students lived close to one another, upon her passing, we would have gathered and offered her a memorial *aş* feast in the Central Asian Turkic way. Instead, with the initiation of Alva Robinson, one of the last and youngest students of Ilse apa, we decided to honor her spirit with this tribute to pacify her soul and receive her blessings. While those who come to *aş* receive nourishment from the festive meals, we hope that the thoughts and ideas the authors share in this volume will nourish the readers' minds and souls.

Ilse apa received her doctorate from the University of Hamburg under the guidance of Annemarie von Gabain (1901–1993).³ Ilse apa later began her own career in the United States, first teaching at Indiana University in 1965 before joining the University of Washington (UW) in 1968, where she singlehandedly built the Central Asian Studies Program (CASP). Ilse apa was one of fewer than a handful of scholars teaching or researching topics related to the field of comparative Turkic studies (Turkology) in North America. Unlike most of her Turkologist colleagues who focused on Old- and Middle-Turkic languages at the time, Ilse apa focused on the living languages and modern literatures of the Central Asian Turkic peoples.

As the founder and director of CASP at the UW, Ilse apa also taught courses on Turkic languages and literatures. She developed a method of teaching the grammar of Turkic languages from her own teacher, Annemarie von Gabain, for which she emphasized the mathematical logic behind the syntax of these languages. Since Turkology was still a novel field of study in the United States, teaching materials and books were few.⁴ Those of us who studied under her may recall the great care she took when preparing her teaching materials, and the energy and enthusiasm with which she taught her classes. The language learning materials, which she developed together with her graduate students, including those from Central Asia and visiting professors in the mid-1990s, are still being used today.

Ilse apa was not merely an academic supervisor for her students. She fostered the qualities of a good human being, (Kyr. *jakşı adam*; Kaz. *jaqsı adam*; Uzb. *yaxshi odam*) including kindness, politeness, generosity and respect. She always used the polite version of “you” (*siz*) and often recited the Uzbek saying, “It is easy to become a scholar; it is difficult to become a good human being” (*Olim bo‘lish oson, odam bo‘lish qiyin*), and the Kyrgyz sayings, “A family with grandparents/elders are blessed” (*Karısı bardın ırısı bar*) and “If an elderly person comes, give food; if a young person comes, give work” (*Karı kelse—aşka, jaş kelse—işke*).

Ilse apa also taught these qualities to her students by using examples from Central Asian Turkic culture and oral traditions, such as epic songs, proverbs and wisdom poetry. When describing the qualities required of the khans of old, she emphasized the

³ Von Gabain studied Turkology with Johann Wilhelm Bang Kaup (1869–1934), the founder of the Berlin School of Turkic Studies. We feel like it is important to present our academic “genealogy”, because genealogies (Kyrgyz *sanjıra*; Kazakh *şejire*) have always been one of the major foci of Turkic studies.

⁴ Poppe, *Reminiscences*, 238.

three virtues of generosity, wisdom and bravery. She made it clear that failure to display these qualities could result in khans being abandoned by their people and left to fend for themselves in the steppe. After all, as she pointed out, these khans were *chosen* by the people. In stark contrast with the Orientalist view that khans were merciless despots, she expounded time and time again about the democratic nature of rulership within these early Turkic communities. The ceremony of raising khans seven times on a white felt rug also included lowering them seven times. For Ilse apa, the tradition served as a perfect metaphor illustrating the fact that ultimately, the people who raised khans up could also bring them down if they were inadequate leaders. As emerging scholars trained by Ilse apa, we felt that we too were responsible for developing such qualities within ourselves, as after all, teaching and scholarship can be considered a form of leadership.

Ilse apa also appreciated the importance of community-based customary restorative law compared to centralized punitive law. She emphasized the importance of local governance where a locally elected group of wise men and women helped their communities resolve community- and family-related issues.⁵ She also made it clear that the original Turkic (or Mongol) woman was in every way the equal of her man, sometimes besting him in archery, horse riding, wrestling. All the while, it has always been the woman that maintained the integrity of the family and household in every domain. Ilse apa always made it a point to mention how, in traditional Turkic epic songs and folktales, daughters of khans chose their future husbands by requesting the candidate of men to perform all the manly tasks. In other words, Turkic women traditionally had the right to choose their husbands and require parents of the groom to pay a hefty *kalıñ* (bride-money) in the form of livestock.

During the 1990s and 2000s, many visiting scholars, researchers and exchange students from Central Asia came under university exchange programs such as Fulbright, the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) and ACCELS, and the Bolaşak (Future) program established by the first president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev (1940–). Ilse apa hosted many of those visiting scholars and students. In retrospect, we know that it proved a great amount of work for her, yet she was always happy to meet scholars and intellectuals from the region and help them widen their academic outlook through lectures and seminars on campus.

As a mother figure to many of her students and nonstudents alike, Ilse apa used to openly state her position on some social issues in Central Asia and beyond. For example, she believed in the importance of women accessing higher levels of education. She would say that women should not completely rely on their husbands for their livelihood. All kinds of things might happen in life, she would say. One could lose one's husband or get divorced. Receiving a proper education, therefore, would enable a woman to work and support herself and her children.

⁵ She supported the idea of strengthening the court of elders (*aksakaldar sotu*) that was established in Kyrgyzstan in the 1990s.

She also hoped for the cultural unity of Turkic-speaking republics of Central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union and strongly supported the national slogan of Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov (1938–2016), “Turkistan is our common home” (*Turkiston—umumiy uyimiz*). She also very much regretted Askar Akayev (1944–) promoting his national slogan “Kyrgyzstan is our common home” (*Kyrgyzstan—nash obshiy dom*), which avoided our common Turkic heritage. She would point out that Chingiz Aitmatov (1928–2008) supported Karimov's idea on cultural integration of the Central Asian Turkic states.

At present, convergences in linguistic and genetic analyses shed new light on the origins of the Turkic language family and the global migrations of its speakers. Theories and hypotheses on the earliest origins of the Turkic-speaking peoples continue to evolve. There is a developing theory that the earliest speakers of a proto-Turkic language were likely an agrarian people who later adopted the equestrian lifestyle typical of the Inner Asian Mountain and steppe zone.⁶

This view devolves from the recent Transeurasian language family hypothesis, which is receiving attention as an alternative to the prior Altaic language hypothesis. The Transeurasian hypothesis would thus push the timeline of the Turkic language family back by several millennia and places its geographical origin farther east than previously believed. The pre-proto-Turkic period would now begin circa 5000 BCE with the Hong Shan culture, located around present-day Liaoning Province, in northeast China. Such new findings broaden the scope of the already vast and lively field of Turkology. The theory relies upon methods such as specialized vocabulary analysis, language reconstruction and the tracking of population movements through the study of genetics and archeology.

Ilse apa would likely have been an active participant in the discussions emanating from these new findings, had her passing not preceded them. Already equipped with a solid classical Turkological training, she was able to live at the forefront of scientific inquiry regarding the origins of the Turkic people and applied her scholarly expertise to this topic with outstanding vigor. In addition, she displayed what one might call an “insider's perspective” while discussing aspects of the history, culture and languages of the Turkic peoples. Hers was not a colonial perspective that reduced the people in question to exotic and alien *indigènes*. She understood the fundamental aspects of Turkic language and culture from within, all the while never relinquishing her rigorous scholarly method. No statement from her students could pass muster unless firmly supported by evidence. She expertly yet compassionately sliced away anything that was dubious, unverifiable, unsupported or redundant in the works of the many students she

⁶ Driven by Bayesian phylolinguistics, and further supported by DNA dispersal data, archeology, and material anthropology. For reference, please see Robbeets et al. *Triangulation Supports the Agricultural Spread of Transeurasian Languages*, published 10/21/2021 in digital article form.

led to ever higher levels of scholarship. All this she did while maintaining *and* fostering a level of passion, and intellectual dynamism that deserve recognition.

Her devotion to the field over the decades has resulted in an ever-flourishing and growing constellation of scholarship spread around the globe, among her students and, now, their students, the next generation. In this book, we have collected some of the fruits of this expansive collective of thought and inquiry that was seeded and tended to by our late Ilse apa, a true gardener of the mind. Although her avowed specialty was language, her teachings were rich in connections to literature, history, culture, ethnography, art, dance, music, cuisine, philosophy and more. Her discourses and publications ranged from the didactic oral tradition of historic Turkic peoples to the conditions that their descendants have had to contend with since the Soviet period and thereafter. This collection of essays reflects some of the diversity and breadth of her range of teachings. The reader will find here a resource that sheds light on almost all aspects of the culture of the Turkic peoples of the world, with an emphasis on those who inhabit the Inner Asian region, where they have been the narrators of a vivid oral tradition for millennia.

The essays within this collection build off a question Ilse apa used to lead her courses with: “Who is the Turk?” The seeming simplicity of the question, as her students discovered, belies its own complexity, for the answer is more defined within a concept. Archives from early Chinese historians theorized and recorded the origins of the Turks, offering many contradictory accounts. Did the first Turks truly derive from Western Asia, near the Caspian, or had their origins been north of the Hunnic tribes in the Altai mountains, or somewhere in between, west of the Tien-Shan mountain range? Were they born of the Sky or of a shamaness? Had they been raised by a she-wolf or guided by a deer?⁷ Likewise, accounts from differing Turkic groups over the centuries have claimed their own theories: descendants of the heavenly Sky or of totem spirit animals, or even offshoots of ancestral clans.⁸ The divergent origin theories raise significant questions that this compilation aims to address. From where did the Turks originate? Who were their progenitors? With whom did they mix, and how did they relate with other groups, namely their fellow neighboring nomadic groups, the Mongols? Just how much foreign influence has shaped the identities of the Turks? While much attention has been devoted to answering these questions—the field of Turkology by nature is committed to the topic of identity—few researchers from outside the Turkic regions have engaged local scholars in addressing the issue.

The local and international authors of this volume engage with a diverse set of sources and materials. While the author’s interpretations of primary data shed light on different aspects of historic and modern Turkic identity, this volume also contains a rich

⁷ Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, 115–117.

⁸ See Atanyázov, *Şejere*, 14–15. The author of this publication claims the Kyrgyz ethnonym, *Kyrgyz*, stems from *Kyryg oguz*, or red oguz, descendants of the Oguz western Turks. This contrasts with a widely held theory by the Kyrgyz that the ethnonym derives from a merging of two separate words: *kirk kiz*, forty girls. See Karasaev, “*Muxtasar tarix Kirgiziya*,” 57.

treasure of primary data such as the translations of early Turkic writings, excerpts from epics and lamentation songs; hence, this volume can also be used as an anthology for Turkic studies. Examples of sources in the anthology explore historical documents such as early Turkic inscriptions of the eighth century CE and the language policy documents of the twentieth century, as well as literary works of individual Turkic and Mongolian writers such as Abdurauf Fitrat (1886–1938) and G. Mend-Ooyo (1952–). Ethnographic data on birth and death rituals, as well as performances (e.g., the protective rituals related to infants in Kazakhstan and the *koşok* in Kyrgyzstan) also contribute to the discussion. Likewise, sources exploring the phonetic, semantic and morphological aspects of modern Turkic languages also add insight. Thus, this volume is also of great interest from a methodological perspective, as the authors use tools of linguistic, literary, historic and ethnographic analysis in their chapters.

This compilation contributes significantly to scholarship on Turkic identity. The articles intend to consult, in addition to primary sources, secondary source materials from both nonheritage and heritage specialists in local Turkic and major research languages. As stated earlier, each essay contribution focuses on linguistic, genealogic, literary and or cultural aspects to address the question of the identity of the Turk (“Who is the Turk?”). This falls very much in line with the manner in which Mahmud Qashgarī (1005 CE–1102 CE) investigated the various Turkic tribes for his eleventh-century-CE *Diwan lughat at-Turk (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects)*.⁹ Together, the chapters within this compilation address the question of identity among the Turkic peoples of Central and Inner Asia, including Mongolic groups for comparison. More specifically, the articles set out to explain the endogenous and exogenous factors that have shaped self-identification among the Turko-Mongolic groups, including the influence of the historic mislabeling by outside groups.

The volume is divided into five parts:

1. Nomadic/pastoral heritage as foundations of identity
2. Medieval relationships and outsider perspectives
3. Cultures in transitions, how Turkic peoples have dealt with the impact of colonialism (tsarist and Soviet) and independence
4. Efforts in constructing and preserving language identity since 1917
5. Reflections and memories about Ilse Laude-Cirtautas and her mentorship

The essays in this volume were offered by some students of Ilse apa as well as by scholars who had contact with her, and or her ideas and publications. Each essay has been carefully reviewed, critiqued and edited over a period of several years in order to render *homage* to Ilse apa’s memory and scholarly heritage. Her background is primarily that of a classical Turkologist, and she served perhaps as one of the last representatives of this tradition. Yet, she bridged newer traditions of inquiry within

9 Dankoff, introduction to Mahmud al-Ḳaṣḡarī, 6.

the field and has trained leading scholars whose work pertains to Central Asia and its inhabitants. Among them are linguists, scholars of literature, anthropologists, historians and interdisciplinary-area specialists. Her initial formation was within the classical school of Turkology, represented by scholars such as Annemarie von Gabain, Omeljan Pritsak (1919–2006), Karl Menges (1908–1999) and Nicholas Poppe (1987–1991), the latter having also contemporaneously taught at the University of Washington with her. She was also very keen on collaborating with native Central Asian scholars such as Ismet Kenesbay (1907–1995), Shora Sarabayev (1925–2018), Muhammad Ali Ahmedov (1942–) and Rahmanqul Berdibayev (1927–2012), as well as writers and poets such as Erkin Vohidov (1936–2016), Chingiz Aitmatov and Bozor Sobir (1938–2018), among others. She took great measures to ensure their legacies, including views and works, were included in her writing of Turkic history.

She was thoroughly familiar with the historical texts of the Turkic languages, such as *Qutadğu bilig*, by Yusuf Has Hajib (1017 CE–1077 CE), *Divan-i faniy*, by Alisher Nava'i (1441–1501), the *Baburnāma* and the Orkhon Inscriptions, including *Köl Tigin*, *Bilgä Kağan*, and *Tonyuqıq*. A perspective such as hers is thus informed by a deep knowledge of sources, both historical and modern. She additionally possessed an intimate familiarity with the poetic, literary and scholarly output of contemporary Central Asians. Her immersion in this field is, to those of us who were fortunate enough to study with her, a labor of love, tempered by methodological rigor and attention to detail. She was active during a period of gradual transition of Central Asia, from Soviet dominion to the formation of independent states, and was the right person to train new scholars and professionals to play a role during and after this transition.

Indeed, today Central Asia is once again gaining critical international importance, and not only—as some would have it—as a region of potential markets, emerging economies, energy hubs or political zones of influence for competing major world powers. As previously mentioned, the language, history and culture of the Turkic peoples are also undergoing new academic scrutiny. Perhaps certain outdated models of scholarship have viewed this region as a backwater and its inhabitants as primarily “absorbers” of certain other cultures. However, the fact is once again emerging that the inhabitants of Central Asia, including its Turkic-speaking peoples, were, are and will be major creators, influencers and transmitters of ideas on a global scale.

Being a scholar of Central Asia and, specifically, of its Turkic-speaking inhabitants inevitably exposes one to a vast geography, a rich historical timeline, and numerous languages and literary traditions. We are in dialogue with peoples who have ranged widely and experienced many religions, philosophies and ways of life. Traces of this experience are evident in cultural elements such as language, folklore, customs, cuisine, music and more. No other group of peoples has founded so many empires or influenced the political destinies of other states. Emerging from a region that is currently within the Chinese geographical sphere, these peoples have filtered through the steppe regions of Mongolia, the oases of Central Asia, the realms of the Indo-Iranian peoples, the provinces of Rome, the Islamic world and Europe itself, to mention but a few theaters of historical

and cultural exchange. Everywhere they went, they brought with them their language and culture while also adopting certain cultural elements from their neighbors and transmitting these to new frontiers. Ilse apa had made a study of this vast area the very center of her life and was able to convey a sense of this immensity to her students.

Ilse apa often spoke of the “nomadic” nature of the Turkic peoples, but underlying her discourse stood a profound understanding of their mobility and adaptability. Thus, she used the term “nomadic” without any reductionist implications. This mobility went far beyond the seasonal migrations that are demonstrably an adaptation to maximize the economic functionality of the Inner Asian topography and climate. This mobility ensured the formation of numerous alliances and the productive intermingling of peoples of different linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds. Ideas, goods, religions, peoples were all transported via the dynamics of this mobility. This perspective on the evolution of Turkic peoples on the planet was central to Ilse apa’s teachings. She clearly demonstrated that the Turkic languages themselves are in fact a map of Central and Inner history and culture. She demonstrated this continuity that links East Asia to Europe via her deep understanding of Turkic languages and literatures. She presented the reality of a cultural and linguistic continuum spanning, and indeed, *bridging*, the entities often called Europe and Asia through her vast knowledge of the languages and cultures of its native peoples, be they linguistically *Türk* or Mongols of various denominations, or Iranian speakers like Tajiks and Afghans of all ethnicities. We, in turn, hope that our selection of scholarship in this volume will do justice to this reality and will honor the legacy of the teachings of Ilse apa.

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Stefan Kamola

I Made Him Praiseworthy: The Kül Tegin Inscription in World History

1 Introduction

1.1 Literature, History, Epic

Ilse Laude-Cirtautas was a tireless advocate for the culture of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, including thirteen centuries of literature. The earliest surviving examples of Turkic writing are found in a series of inscriptions situated in the Orkhon River Valley and surrounding areas of Mongolia and dating to the Second Türk Qaghanate (680 CE–743 CE). The present contribution to the memory of Ilse Opa presents a translation of one of these inscriptions, the funerary memorial of Kül Tegin (d. 731), brother of the Türk Bilgä Qaghan (ca. 717 CE–734 CE). It offers one of our most intimate glimpses into events at the center of the qaghanate, told in Bilgä Qaghan's own voice. I first read the Kül Tegin inscription while on a Watson Fellowship in Tuva in 2001–2002, an experience that set my course toward Central Asian studies. I began this translation under Ilse Opa's supervision in 2005.

One of Ilse Opa's contributions to the study of Turkic literature concerned the formulae of oral traditions.¹ The study of oral epic literature was broken open in the second quarter of the twentieth century by Milman Parry (1902–1935) and his student Albert Lord (1912–1991), culminating in the latter's seminal work, *The Singer of Tales*.² That work grew out of Parry's desire to prove, through comparison to a living oral epic tradition, that the author or authors of the Homeric corpus could have produced the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in a preliterate society. Parry and Lord conducted their fieldwork in the South Slavic Balkans only because the presence of the Iron Curtain kept them from traveling further east. They were aware of the earlier anthropological studies of Wilhelm Radloff (1837–1918), Victor Zhirmunsky (1891–1971) and Shoqan Valikhan (1835–1865) that demonstrated a robust living tradition of oral epic storytelling among the Turkic groups living along the edges of the expanding Russian Empire, and they initially hoped to conduct their study there.³

My own undergraduate study of and subsequent fixation with Homeric epic made Turkic epic literature a natural choice for study, and in the early years of graduate school, I explored the stories of Kökötöy, Bok Murun and other Turkic heroes. Throughout, the

¹ See, for example, Laude-Cirtautas, "Zu den Einleitungsformeln."

² On the creation of *Singer*, see the discussion by Mitchell and Nagy in the introduction to the second edition of the work: Lord, *The Singer of Tales*.

³ Mitchell and Nagy, ix.

Orkhon inscriptions were never far from view, as they drew on the same body of literary tropes as the epic songs: they tell of great feats in battle, offer timely words of wisdom and display a ruler's concern for his people, all set in a rhythmic cadence that brings a reassuring sense of familiarity to events as they unfold. The available translations of the inscriptions, however, all seemed to sacrifice their literary qualities in favor of semantic or grammatical precision.⁴ My own effort, presented here, is an attempt to show the Kül Tegin inscription as the product of a highly literary if not lettered society.

1.2 The Turks in World History

I have so far used the term literature to categorize the Orkhon inscriptions, and I have indulged in a digression on Homeric epic to frame my understanding of these texts. However, they are not strictly epic works, and are they are not only literature. These historical texts mean to preserve a memory of events, even if they engage epic and literary devices to highlight the character and accomplishments of their subjects.⁵ The history of the early Türk Qaghanates has been told many times by far more qualified specialists.⁶ It need not be rehearsed in detail here. I offer a brief overview, though, to set the stage for the translation that follows and to situate the Türk Qaghanate in world history, or in words that Ilse Opa liked to use, to show that “Central Asia is at the center of things.”

Pastoral nomadic groups speaking languages that we now call Turkic spread across Asia and Eastern Europe from the early centuries of the Common Era, spurred at least in part by the turmoil of the Han-Xiongnu conflicts in eastern Inner Asia. By the sixth century CE, the presence of groups designated Oghuz (Oghur in the west) constituted “a large and still dimly illuminated polyethnic confederation,” which the Chinese sources refer to as the Tiele.⁷ It was out of this stratum of peoples that the collective identifier “Türk” emerged north of China during the decades following the collapse of the Northern Wei (386 CE–534 CE). At the time, the steppe north of China was dominated by the Avars, known in Chinese sources as Jou-Jan or Rouran. Chinese sources identify the Türks as subjects of these Avars, for whom they provided ironworking expertise from their home region in the Altay Mountains. A man named Bumin (490 CE–552 CE) from the clan Ashina led these Türks, first in 546 CE as they aided the Avars in suppressing a

4 See, for example, the translations of Ross, “The Orkhon Inscriptions”; Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*.

5 Golden, “Eternal Stones,” especially pages 5–9 on the historical nature of Turkic inscriptions in general and pages 12–14 on the Orkhon inscriptions in particular.

6 Golden has done this at length: *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*; and more recently and briefly: “The Turks: A Historical Overview.” See also Stark, “Türk Khaganate”; Drompp, “Inner Asia.” Much of the information presented here is extracted from these narratives.

7 Golden, “The Turks,” 20.

Tiele rebellion and then in 552 CE as they revolted against their Avar lords. Bumin was the first Türk to take the imperial title *qaghan* in place of the Avars. He led a confederacy diverse in its ethnicity and language, with influence and involvement of Iranian, Tokharian and Soghdian populations. The name of Bumin and of the other known members of the Ashina clan cannot be linked to any known language, so it is likely that the early leaders of the Türk Qaghanate did not in fact speak what we would now consider a Turkic language. The term “Türk” reflected, in Bumin’s time, a political designation and not the ethnolinguistic one it later became.

Bumin died within a year of taking the throne, and two of his sons Issik (552 CE–554 CE) and Muqan (554 CE–571 CE) ruled in quick succession. His brother İstāmi (d. 575 CE), meanwhile, expanded Ashina Türk dominion to the western steppe and Central Asia, establishing a second imperial capital in the region of Western Turkestan and Issyk Kul and extending his influence over the important Soghdian cities of the Silk Road. The western branch of the Ashina ruling clan enjoyed *de facto* independence, even if the eastern qaghan was formally recognized as the senior member of the clan. During the early years of the Türk Qaghanate, the territory of the former Chinese Han dynasty was divided. The dynasty of the Northern Wei, itself of nomadic Manchurian stock, had ruled over much of northern China since the late fourth century CE. They and a series of successor kingdoms to them formed the northern tier of the so-called “Northern and Southern Dynasties” period of Chinese history (386 CE–589 CE). Bumin’s immediate successors were able to leverage this relative instability in China into a productive cycle of raids and tribute gifts from regional Chinese courts.

In 581 CE, however, the powerful Türk Taspar Qaghan (572 CE–581 CE) died just as China was finally reunified under the Sui Dynasty (581 CE–617 CE). This reversed the frontier dynamic: conflict over the succession to Taspar divided the Türk Qaghanate, while the Sui was able to direct a coordinated strategy against the northern threat. Complicating this, the leader of the western Türks, Tardu (d. 603 CE), made a bid for overall leadership of the eastern steppe. In 585 CE, the eastern Išbara Qaghan (581 CE–587 CE) acknowledged Chinese suzerainty, on the grounds that the world could have only one emperor, just as the sky could have only one sun.⁸ His self-effacement carried with it a snub to the ambitions of his cousin Tardu.

The centuries between the fall of the Han and rise of the Sui were also the period when Buddhism began to gain a foothold in northern China, particularly under the Northern Wei. The Northern Wei were themselves converts to Buddhism, and under them contact increased between India and China along the overland trade routes of the Silk Road. These are most vividly illustrated in the travelog of the monk Faxian (337 CE–442 CE), who traveled to India between 399 CE and 412 CE to bring authentic Buddhist texts back to China, and in the Indian architectural form of the stupa that appeared in East Asia at this time, reimagined in the form of the pagoda. This support

⁸ Mau-tsai, *Die chinesische Nachrichten*, 52.

for Buddhism did not outlive the Northern Wei, however. In 574 CE, Emperor Wu (561 CE–578 CE), of the Northern Zhou, began a persecution of Buddhist as well as Taoist clergy after a court debate convinced him of the superiority of Confucian teachings.

During this time, Buddhism also made its mark on the steppe. In the early decades of the qaghanate, Buddhism offered a potential unifying ideology for the young empire, especially after Emperor Wu's persecutions. The Ashina Taspar Qaghan, whose death sparked the succession struggle that led to Türk subordination to China, embraced Buddhism, in part under the tutelage of an Indian monk who fled the Northern Zhou crackdown. Taspar's support for Buddhism is reflected in the earliest major inscription from the qaghanate, the so-called Bugut inscription.⁹ That this inscription was written in Soghdian, and not Turkic, reveals once again the multilingual nature of the early qaghanate, as well as the importance of Soghdian traders for its economic and chancery functions.

The eastern half of the Türk Empire finally collapsed in 630 CE, defeated by the armies of another young Chinese empire, that of the Tang dynasty. Recent study of paleoclimatic data alongside historical records has revealed that climate fluctuations in the early seventh century CE were a significant factor in shaping the history of the Eastern Qaghanate.¹⁰ With their defeat, the Tang Emperor Taizong (626 CE–649 CE) relocated members of the royal family and other elite Türks south of the Yellow River, in the Ordos region, where they might be better supervised. In 639 CE, two members of the Ashina clan conspired to assassinate Taizong. The plot failed, but it struck enough fear in the Tang court to cause them once again to relocate the subject Türks north of the Yellow River.

1.3 The Türks in the West

Meanwhile, Bumin's brother İstāmi and descendants ruled over a largely independent qaghanate in the western steppe. Türk expansion over the western steppe was punctuated in 568 CE by an embassy to Constantinople, conducted in Soghdian, the *lingua franca* of the Silk Road trade networks running across Central Asia. Subsequent diplomatic exchange with the Romans came at the expense of the Sasanian Persians, who had refused to allow Chinese silks transported along Türk-controlled trade networks to enter the Western market through Iran. In 557 CE, however, İstāmi forged an alliance of convenience with the Sasanian Shah Khusrau Anushirvan (531 CE–579 CE) against the Hephthalites of eastern Iran and the Indus. Alliances shifted quickly: three decades later, in 589 CE, the Sasanian army defeated the Türks at a major battle at Herat, but a subsequent joint campaign allowed the Roman and Türk Empires to defeat the Persians

⁹ On the Bugut inscription, see Klaštornyj and Livšic, "The Sogdian Inscription of Bugut Revised."

¹⁰ Cosmo, Oppenheimer and Büntgen, "Interplay of Environmental and Socio-Political Factors."

in 628 CE. This left the Sasanian Empire weak, vulnerable to armies of Muslim Arabs that began to appear from the southwest just a few years later. By 641 CE, the Arabs had completely overwhelmed the Persian Empire, and the Islamic caliphate entered the world stage as a major Mediterranean empire in its own right.

While the earliest Muslim conquests were expanding out of the Arabian Peninsula, the tribes on the westernmost fringe of the lands ruled by İstāmi's descendants had begun to coalesce as a new confederation, eventually becoming the Khazar Qaghanate, which dominated the western steppe for the next three centuries. This was also exactly contemporary with the collapse of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate to the Tang. Chinese influence continued to expand westward, and the descendants of İstāmi also came under Tang suzerainty in 658 CE. After that, China retained a member of the Ashina clan as titular leader of the western Turkic tribes, but these puppet qaghans enjoyed limited prestige among their former subject tribes. By 699 CE a new family of warlords had emerged as the dominant power in Central Asia. This new tribal formation, known as the Türgäš, comes into historical view after the reorganization of the western Turkic military into ten armies, known as the “ten arrows” (*on oq*, see inscription at S12, E19, N13). Whether these represented earlier tribal identities or replaced them with new ones, the Türgäš “arrow” rose to prominence as Chinese support for their Ashina clients withered during the turbulent reign of Empress Wu (655 CE–705 CE).

Türgäš domination of the western steppe lasted only until 766 CE, but theirs was a significant period in the history of the region. Before 699 CE, Arab involvement in Central Asia north of the Oxus River (Transoxania, in Arabic *Mā warā' al-Nahr*, “across the river”) had been limited to seasonal raids. In the reign of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid I (705 CE–715 CE), however, these expanded into a concerted effort to claim the territory for the caliphate, led by the general and subsequent governor of the region, Qutayba b. Muslim (d. 715/6 CE). The decline of centralized qaghanal power on the steppe, along with what by this point was a century and a half of contact between the Soghdian cities of Central Asia and the Türk-led nomads of the steppe, meant that the landscape into which Qutayba campaigned included a significant Türk military presence, either in the form of mercenaries serving Soghdian lords or as independent local principalities.¹¹ Thus, even after Central Asia became a province of the caliphate, a significant source of local resistance remained in the form of another only partially integrated foreign military elite. The most successful opposition to Qutayba and his successors was led by the Türgäš Qaghan Sulu (716 CE–738 CE). After early successes against the Chinese led to his formal recognition by the Tang, Sulu led a guerilla war against Umayyad forces for much of the 720s CE.

Arab, Chinese and Türk military operations in Central Asia culminated with the Battle of Talas in 751 CE, at which Arab and Chinese armies each were supported by Türk allies.

¹¹ On the question of Turks in Central Asia up to the eighth century CE, see Stark, “Mercenaries and City Rulers.”

The battle itself was probably less consequential than its timing: in 751 CE the caliphate had just transferred to the 'Abbasid family after their successful rebellion, while the Tang court recovered from the rebellion of the Soghdian general An Lushan (703 CE–757 CE). Both empires recoiled from Central Asia to focus on affairs at home, while new nomadic confederacies – those of the Qarluqs and Uyghurs – took their turn on the steppe.

1.4 The Second Türk Qaghanate

From among the members of the First Türk Qaghanate relocated by Tang Taizong, an effort began in the late 670s CE to shake off Chinese suzerainty and reassert independent sovereignty on the steppe. The first move in this direction might be traced to the assassination attempt against Taizong in 639 CE. A signal of Türk unrest, it also resulted in the relocation of the captive population further away from the Tang capital, a move that perhaps ironically enabled further rebellion. After an effort under Ashina Nishufu in 679 CE failed (see translation, E9-10), the move toward independence succeeded finally in the first years of the next decade under the leadership of the Ashina Qutluğh (d. 692 CE), who took the throne name Ilteriş Qaghan.¹²

Ilteriş was succeeded by his brother Qapghan Qaghan (691 CE–716 CE). These first two qaghans faced several adversaries, both in China and the steppe. Their struggle to establish their new state is documented in an inscription from the 720s CE erected by their advisor, Tonyuquq (c. 646 CE–c. 726 CE). He describes three separate alliances, each of three powers, that tried to put an end to the new Türk state. In each case, Tonyuquq's ability to gather information, provide counsel and lead the Türk army are essential to the survival of the Second Türk Qaghanate, as they isolate and crush one of the conspiring parties, thereby discouraging the others. The sons of Ilteriş, the future Bilgä Qaghan and his brother Kül Tegin were active in the campaigns of Qapghan's reign, which Bilgä describes in different terms than Tonyuquq in the memorial inscription for Kül Tegin, which he erected in 732 CE and which is translated below. While Tonyuquq offers a structured narrative of three axes of three powers defeated by careful planning and diligent leadership, Bilgä Qaghan lists a linear and seemingly endless series of campaigns and battles, highlighting his brother's military prowess throughout. This is the perspective of a warrior, not of a counsellor.

In addition to the Kül Tegin inscription, Bilgä Qaghan is responsible for a second inscription, which has been named after himself. There is significant overlap between the two texts: they each tell first of the rise of the Second Türk Qaghanate through the climactic Battle of Bolču in 711 CE that finally secured the state's place on the steppe and

¹² In August 2022, members of the International Turkic Academy and the Mongolian Academy of Sciences announced the discovery of Ilteriş Qaghan's funerary complex, including new Turkic inscriptions in Soghdian script that include the earliest use of the term "Türk." We await fuller publication of the findings.

then turn to the individual accomplishments of the titular figure. The Kül Tegin inscription was erected as part of a funerary monument to the dead prince. Fittingly, the text here highlights Bilgä's grief, both at the loss of his brother and at the pending collapse of his state. The opening lines of the inscription call on various elements of his multiethnic confederacy to heed his words. Bilgä specifically calls out the "Toquz Oghuz lords and people" [S2]. These were the Turkic-speaking tribes that came to be known as the Uyghurs and who replaced the Ashina as lords of the steppe. Bilgä names the Oghuz repeatedly throughout the inscription, either to emphasize their rebellious nature and his family's earlier successes against them or to appeal to them for unity at a time when the qaghanate was at risk of collapse. The inscription of Tonyuquq, the advisor who helped Bilgä's father establish the state, confirms the idea that the Toquz Oghuz tribes opposed Ashina rule. There, they conspire with the Qïtan and the Chinese against the resurgent Ilterîš and later are said to chafe under the reestablished qaghanate [T1 S1–9; E5].

By 744 CE, the Toquz Oghuz replaced the Ashina, founding the Uyghur empire that ruled the steppe for the next century. The rise of the Manichaean Uyghurs just a few years before the An Lushan rebellion helped fuel the gradual shift of the Tang court into the xenophobic stance that marked the latter part of its term. This was a dramatic shift from the open religious policy of the early Tang, a policy exemplified by the arrival of Nestorian Christianity as memorialized in the Nestorian Stele. That stone, erected in 781 CE and buried in 845 CE (perhaps because of ongoing religious persecutions against Nestorian Christians), commemorated the moment that the Tang founder, Taizong, welcomed Christian missionaries to his capital and declared their faith worthy of royal patronage. In 635 CE, when this declaration was issued, Taizong was secure in his reign, having recently defeated the First Türk Qaghanate and relocated their elites into the Ordos region south of the Yellow River. By the mid-eighth century CE, the Türks had rebelled, risen and fallen, and the Tang court grew increasingly wary of its neighbors to the north.

2 The Kül Tegin Inscription

2.1 Overview of Translation

The Kül Tegin inscription is a memorial stone, written in the voice of Bilgä Qaghan and dedicated in 732 CE to the memory of Bilgä Qaghan's brother, who had died the previous year. Bilgä Qaghan's own memorial inscription is found nearby. The two overlap for a significant portion of their text (KT E1–30 \approx BQ E3–23), which allows for many of the reconstructions indicated below in square brackets. This parallel text is one of two narratives in each inscription. It tells the history of the First and Second Türk Qaghanates from the rise of Bumin up to the Battle of Bolču in 711 CE. The latter portions of this narrative focus on the exploits of the brothers Kül Tegin and the future Bilgä Qaghan. This shared narrative is followed in each inscription by a second one organized around

the life of the inscription's dedicatee. Since both Bilgä and Kül Tegin were active from at least the beginning of the reign of their uncle Qapghan Qaghan (691 CE–716 CE), this means that the two narratives found in this inscription overlap for the period from 691 CE until the Battle of Bolču (E16–30, E31–39).

Line numbers of the original inscription are indicated with alpha-numeric codes in square brackets, in the form [S1]. Letters indicate the facing of the stone, while numbers indicate the sequence of text on the face. The section headers given in bold are not found in the original text; they are added to demonstrate the overall structure of the work. Reconstructed passages are given in [square brackets], while additions made for the sake of clarity are given in {curly brackets}. Unreconstructed lacunae of various lengths are marked with ellipses.

2.2 Translation

Invocation

[S1] Heavenly Divine Türk Bilgä Qaghan, I reign at this time.¹³

Hear out my words, all my brothers, my sons, and also you, my tribe, my people:

Šad Pit lords of the south;¹⁴

Tarqan Buyruq lords of the north;¹⁵

Otuz¹⁶ . . .; [S2]

¹³ The south face of the monument [S1] can be read as the first or last part of the inscription, as a preface or as an epilogue. The two readings lend different value to Bilgä's words here, either as an invocation to his people to heed what is to come or as a summary of the lessons contained on the other faces. *Tengriteg tengride* ("Heavenly Divine"), literally "like heaven, from heaven." Christopher Atwood has proposed that the name of the ruling Ashina clan of the Türks, as well as that of their consort line, the Ashiteg, both derive from the Indic term *ṛṣi*. The two words that begin *KT* parallel the sacred association of Bilgä's maternal and paternal lineage: Atwood, 68–78.

¹⁴ *Šad* and *šad pit* were titles of authority. *Shad* was generally assigned to a member of the ruling Ashina clan who acted as viceroy or governor over a particular tribal group. (For example, see below, E17, where Bilgä says that he became *šad* of the Tarduš after his uncle took the throne.) It is Iranian in derivation, and cognate with the Persian, *shah*: Golden, "Turks and Iranians," 5. The element *pit* derives from the Indo-Iranian *vida/pati*, meaning "lord": Bombaci, "On the Ancient Turkish Title Šadapit." Thus, *šad pit bāglār* given here literally means something like "lord lord lords", with each word from a different language family. It is a fitting indicator of the mixed ethnic and linguistic heritage of the Türk state.

¹⁵ *Tarqat buyruq* here parallel to *šad pit*. *Tarqan* (pl. *tarqat*) was a high title of nobility, while *buyruq* is the title regularly given to royal advisors: E3, E5, *et al.*

¹⁶ *Otuz*, "thirty." Thomsen supplied *tatar*, in comparison to the *otuz tatar* mentioned at E4 and E14. However, the Tatar were subject tribes, and here Bilgä addresses the core tribal elements of his confederation. These are reported as being thirty in number in an epitaph for Bilgä's wife, Princess Xianli Pijia (the daughter of the Qapghan Qaghan and thus Bilgä Qaghan's first cousin): *Jiu Tang shu* 23.900, cited by Atwood, "Some early Inner Asian Terms," 79; Rybatzki, "Titles of Türk and Uigur Rulers," 228. Czeglédy,

Toquz Oghuz lords and people!¹⁷

Hear well these my words! Listen closely!

Geography of Empire

Eastward to the rising sun,
Southward as far as midday,
Westward to the setting sun,
Northward as far as midnight:

In this land many peoples look to me. So many people [S3] I organized. They now harbor no evil.

If the Türk qaghan remains in the Ötüken Highlands,¹⁸ the people have no grief.

Eastward I campaigned to the Shantung Plain: I stopped just short of the ocean.
Southward I campaigned to the Toquz Ārsin: I stopped just short of Tibet.
Westward, across the Pearl River, [S4] I campaigned to the Iron Gates.¹⁹
Northward I campaigned to the land of the Bayırqu.²⁰

I sent [people] to such places, but there is no better place than the Ötüken Highlands. The place for holding dominion is the Ötüken Highlands. Staying in this place, I was equal to the Chinese people, [S5] so that they gave gold, silver, and silk, measureless silk.

The Deceit of the Chinese

The words of the Chinese people are sweet, their fabrics are soft. Deceiving with sweet words and soft fabrics, they would have distant people settle near, and after they have

“On the Numerical Composition of the ancient Turkish Tribal Confederations,” reconstructs these as eighteen tribes of Oghuz and twelve tribes of Türks. Dobrovits, “The Thirty Tribes of the Turks,” offers an alternate identification of these to include the ten tribes (*On Oq*, N13) that comprised the Western Turk confederacy founded by İstāmi.

¹⁷ *Toquz oghuz*, “nine clans,” equivalent to the Chinese *jiu xing*, later known as the Uyghur: Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, 158, 591 n. 831. See Czeglédy, “On the Numerical Composition,” for a reconstruction of how the original nine Oghuz tribes could have become eighteen in number to be counted among the thirty tribes in Bilgä’s confederacy.

¹⁸ The Ötüken Highlands are a northeast spur of the Khangai Range in Mongolia and was considered the spiritual heartland of the Turkic state.

¹⁹ The Iron Gates (*tāmīr qapīgh*) refers to a defile in the Hisar range of mountains in what is now western Tajikistan and southern Uzbekistan. These must be crossed to pass between the historical regions of Soghdia and Bactria, and the narrow passes through them were strategic control points for trade and military activity. The Pearl River (*yinčū ögüz*) refers to the Syr Darya.

²⁰ Bayırqu was one of the nine Oghuz tribes.

settled near, they instill in them this evil wisdom.²¹ [S6] They don't allow a good wise man, a good brave man, to get ahead. If a person goes astray, they withhold shelter even from his clan, his people, his kin. Deceived by their sweet words and soft fabrics, you Türk people are dead, you Türk people will die! If you say, "I'll settle in the Čogay Highlands,²² on the Tögültün [S7] Plain to the south," you Türk people will die there. An evil man suggested such, saying,

If a person is far away, they give bad fabrics to them;
If a person is close by, they give good fabrics to them.

He suggested such.

Accepting this wisdom of a man who knows nothing,²³ you went close, and so many of you died. [S8] If you go to that land, you Türk people are to die. Staying in the Ötüken Highlands as you direct the convoys and caravans, there will be no suffering. If you stay in the Ötüken Highlands, you will always hold dominion.

You Türk people consider yourselves sated,
You don't think about "hungry" and "full".
If you're ever once full,
you don't think about hunger.

For this reason, [S9] ignoring the words of the qaghan who nourished you, you went in all directions.

Then many of you were destroyed, disappeared.
Then the survivors wandered in all directions, wasting away, dying.

Bilgä's Claim

Because Heaven is gracious, and because I have fortune, I reign as qaghan.
Seated as qaghan, [S10]

I gathered the poor and destitute people.
I made the poor people wealthy.
I made the few people many.

Or is there falseness in this my word?

Türk lords and people listen to this! The life and dominion of the Türk I have had inscribed here. How you shall go astray and die I have also [S11] had inscribed here.

²¹ *Anıg bilig*, a rhyming contradiction.

²² The Yinshan range, separating the Gobi Desert from the Ordos loop of the Yellow River. This is roughly where the Türks had been relocated by Tang Taizong after 639 CE.

²³ *Bilig bilmäz kişi*, literally "a man who does not know knowledge." Here again, wisdom (*bilig*) and evil (*anıg*, just above) are presented as antonyms to one another.

Anything I might say, I have had it inscribed on this eternal stone. Look at it and know, you gathered Türk people and lords! Are the lords who have been obedient until now to go astray?

The Monument

I had the eternal stone . . .

. . . I had artists sent from the Chinese qaghan,

I had them decorate it. They didn't disregard my word. [S12] The Chinese qaghan sent his court artist. I had an extraordinary tomb built for him. I had the inside and outside inscribed with extraordinary designs. I had the stone engraved. I had inscribed the words in my heart . . .

. . . including the On Oq and the Persians.²⁴

See this and know I had the eternal stone [S13] engraved . . .

. . . all the more it is an accessible place.

In such an accessible place I have had the eternal stone engraved, written. See it and know thus: I have . . . this stone.

The name of the writer of this writing is Prince Yollugh. [E1]

Creation and the First Qaghanate

When the blue Heaven above and the brown Earth below were created, between the two the child of Man was created. Above the children of Man were seated Bumin Qaghan and İstāmi Qaghan, my ancestor, my forefather. Enthroned, they held dominion and directed the state and law of the Türk people.²⁵ [E2]

The four directions held many enemies. Campaigning with the army, they seized many people in the four directions.

They made many people subject.

They made those with heads to bow.

They made those with knees to kneel.

²⁴ The *On Oq*, or “ten arrows” was the term used to designate the confederacy of ten tribes led in the western steppe by İstāmi Qaghan and his descendants (E1) at least after İstāmi's military reorganization in the 560s CE.

²⁵ *Il* and *törü*, frequently paired to indicate the political and institutional framework of the Türk Qaghanate.

They settled

eastward as far as the Qadīrqaṅ Highlands,²⁶
westward as far as the Iron Gates.

Between these [E3] they established the formerly tribeless Blue Türks.²⁷

The qaḡhan was wise, [the qaḡhan was brave].
His advisor, it is said, was also wise, also brave.
His lords and people were peaceful.
For this reason, it is said, he held dominion.
Holding dominion, he directed the law.

Then he [E4] was gone. Mourners and wailers [came] from the East where the sun rises, those of the Bükli Desert. The Chinese, Tibetan, Avar, Syriacs and Qırqız, the Üç Qorıqaṅ, Otuz Tatar, Qıtan and Tatabı. Such peoples came, wailed and mourned. He was such a famous qaḡhan.

Dissolution and Subordination

After that, they say his younger brother was qaḡhan, [E5] they say his son was qaḡhan. They say the younger brother did not act like the older brother, they say the son did not act like the father. They say there was an unwise qaḡhan, they say there was a bad qaḡhan.

His advisor, they say, was also unwise, also bad. [E6] Because his lords and people were not peaceful, and

because the Chinese people are deceitful and tricky,
because they were cunning,
because they drove a rift between younger and older brother,
because they caused the lords and people to slander one another,

the Türk people drove their established state to extinction. [E7] They drove their enthroned qaḡhan to extinction.

Sons worthy to be lords became slaves to the Chinese.
Daughters worthy to be ladies became servants.
Türk lords abandoned the name Türk.
The lords in China assumed the name Chinese.

²⁶ The Greater Khingan range of Manchuria, now the furthest north province of the People's Republic of China, origin of the Qıtan people (E14, E28), who later established the Liao Dynasty (907 CE–1125 CE, ruling China from 916 CE).

²⁷ *Kök Türk*, frequently used as part of the explanation for an Indo-European (Tocharian?) etymology of Ashina as “blue,” but see Atwood, “Some Early Inner Asian Terms,” 68–78, for a new interpretation.

They looked to the Chinese qaghan. [E8] For fifty years they gave labor and strength.²⁸

Eastward to the rising sun, they bore arms as far as [the land of] Bükli Qaghan.
Westward [to the setting sun] they bore arms as far as the Iron Gate.
They seized state and law on behalf of the Chinese qaghan.²⁹

Revolt Against the Tang

All the common Türk [E9] people spoke thus:

“I was a people with a state!
Now where is my state?
For whom do I now conquer states?” they said.
“I was a people with a qaghan!
Now where is my qaghan?
To what qaghan do I now give labor and strength?” they said.

Saying this, they became hostile to the Chinese qaghan. [E10] Although they were hostile, they could not pull together and organize. They submitted again.³⁰ Once they had thus given labor and strength, [the Chinese] thought,

“I will kill and exterminate the Türk people,” they said.

They were heading to oblivion.

The Second Qaghanate, Ilteriš Qaghan (d. 691 CE)

Above, the Heaven of the Türks, [below,] the sacred Earth of the Türks [E11] spoke thus, saying:

“The Türk people shall not disappear,” saying:
“They shall be a people.”

They held my Father, Ilteriš, my Mother, Ilbilgä Qatun, at the summit of heaven, lifted them up. Hearing that he intended to rebel,³¹ [E12]

those in the city went into the hills;
those in the mountains came down.

²⁸ This refers to the period between the Battle of Yinshan in May 630 CE and the rebellion of Ilteriš Qaghan (see below, E11) in 680 CE–682 CE.

²⁹ While under Chinese domination, the Türks participated in military campaigns onto the steppe and as far east as Korea: Ōsawa, “Revisiting the Ongi Inscription,” 179, with reference to the Ongi inscription, line W2, where this period of military service for the Tang does not have the same connotation of shame as it does here. Note also here (as on the Ongi inscription), the Tang campaigns are described using the same kind of geographic framing as those of Bilgä Qaghan (KT S2–S4, E17).

³⁰ Referring to the unsuccessful rebellion under Ashina Nishufi in 679 CE.

³¹ Literally “go out,” i.e., leave the Chinese state for the steppe, as illustrated in the following line.

Gathering together, they were seventy.
Because Heaven had granted strength,

the army of my Father, the qaghan, was like a wolf,
his enemies were like sheep.

Campaigning eastward and westward, He gathered and collected men. In all [E13] they were seven hundred men. Seven hundred men:

A people without dominion, without a qaghan.
A people enslaved, confined.
A people who had lost the Türk law.

My Ancestor, my Forefather arranged and directed their law.

[Then he organized the people of] Tölis and Tarduš,³² [E14]
Then he gave them a *yabghu* and a *šad*.³³
To the south, the Chinese people were hostile.
To the north, Baz Qaghan and the Toquz Oghuz people were hostile.
The Qırqız, Quriqan and Otuz Tatar,
The Qïtan and the Tatabi were entirely hostile.³⁴

Such people my Father, the qaghan [fought] . . . [E15] He campaigned forty times and seven. He fought twenty battles.

Because Heaven was merciful,
he made those with dominion be without dominion.
He made those with a qaghan be without a qaghan.
He made the enemy a vassal.
He made those with knees to kneel.
He made those with heads to bow . . . [E16]

³² *Tölis* and *Tarduš*, the eastern and western regions of the Second Türk Qaghanate, respectively.

³³ *Yabghu* was a title of nobility among people in Inner Asia from at least the second century BCE and is often paired with the title *šad*. Its origins (and thus its original meaning) are contested, but under the Turks it denoted an individual of high nobility and authority, subordinate only to the qaghan. Bosworth, “Jabguya.” See above, n. 14 for *šad*. If we read this in parallel to the previous statement, Ilteriş appointed a *yabghu* to the eastern regions of the empire and a *šad* to the western regions. Chinese sources tell us that he appointed his brothers Bögü Čor as *šad* and Lord Turs as *yabghu*. When Bögü Čor *šad* succeeded as Qabgan Qaghan (E16), he made Lord Turs *šad* of the eastern (*Tölis*) regions, and his nephew, the son of Elterish Qaghan and future Bilgä Qaghan, *šad* of the western (*Tarduš*) regions (E17). Lord Turs Shad is the Eletmiş Yabghu of the Ongi inscription: Ōsawa “Revisiting,” with an overview of this history of appointments at page 182.

³⁴ The Qïtan and Tatabi were Mongolic tribes of Manchuria. The latter, called Xi in Chinese sources, were at this time subordinate to the Qïtan but later regained independence and backed An Lushan in his rebellion later in the century. By the end of the century, they had been subdued and were eventually absorbed into the growing Qïtan state.

He consolidated the state and took flight.³⁵ My Uncle first erected a trophy of Baz Qaghan to my father, the qaghan.

Qapghan Qaghan (691 CE–716 CE)

Over the law my Uncle was seated as qaghan. Seated as qaghan, my Uncle once again organized the Türk people. He fed them.

The poor he made rich,
The few he made numerous. [E17]

When my Uncle was seated as qaghan, I was myself *šad* over the Tarduš people. Together with my Uncle, the qaghan, we campaigned

eastward as far as the Yellow River and the Shantung Plain.
We campaigned westward as far as the Iron Gate.
Crossing the Kōgmān {mountains,}
[we campaigned as far as the land of the Qırqız.]³⁶ [E18]

In all, we campaigned thirty times, we fought thirteen battles.

We made those with dominion to be without dominion.
We made those with a qaghan to be without a qaghan.
We made those with knees to kneel.
We made those with heads to bow.

Those of the Türgäš Qaghan were our Türks, [our people]. Because [they were unwise], [E19] and because they strayed from us, their qaghan died; their advisor and lords also died. The On Oq people saw suffering. Saying,

The land which our ancestor, our forefather seized
Should not be without a master,

We organized and formed the Az people,³⁷ . . .

[E20] . . . was Bars Bäg.

It was we who gave the qaghanate to him. We gave him my sister as a princess. He led himself astray. Their qaghan died. Their people became slaves and servants. Saying,

The Kōgmān land and water shall not be without a master,

we [came to] form the Az and Qırqız people.

³⁵ *Uča barmis*, a euphemism for death.

³⁶ This campaign against the Kyrgyz is described at greater length at BQ E26–27.

³⁷ The Az lived west of the Tannu-Ola Range and southwest of the Sayan Range.

[We fought . . .] [E21] . . . we gave again.

Eastward past the Qadīrqaṅ Highlands we settled such people.
Westward as far as Kängü Tarman we settled such Türk people,
we organized such people.

That was the time when even slaves had slaves.

[That was the time when even servants had servants.

That was the time when a younger brother knew his older brother.

That was the time when a son knew his father.] [E22]

So collected and organized were our state and law.

Exhortation

Türk and Oghuz lords and people, listen!

If the Sky above does not crush you,
if the Earth below does not give way,

who will be able to destroy the Türk people, dominion, and law?

Türk people, be moved! [E23] Repent! Because you were unruly, you led yourself
astray and introduced evil

to the wise qaḡhan, who had nourished you,
to your good people, who had come and gone {freely}.
Whence came the army that carried you away?
Whence came the cavalry that drove you away?

The people left the sacred Ötüken Highlands:

[Those who would go east] [E24] went east.
Those who would go west went west.

Wherever you went, such was your reward:

your blood flowed like water,
your bones piled like a mountain.
Sons worthy to be lords became slaves.
Daughters worthy to be ladies became servants.

Because you were foolish, [because you were evil, my Uncle, the qaḡhan, took flight.]
[E25]

Reign of Bilgä Qaghan (718 CE–734 CE)

I first erected a trophy of the Qırqız qaghan.³⁸ Saying,

May the name and fame of the Türk people not disappear,

that Heaven, which had lifted up my Father as qaghan and my Mother as qatun, saying

May the name and fame of the Türk people not disappear,

that Heaven, which gives dominion, [that same Heaven] [E26] must have seated me as qaghan. I wasn't seated above a prosperous people:

no food inside,
no coat outside,

it was a mean and wretched people over whom I was seated.

Together with my brother Kül Tegin, we took counsel, saying,

May the [name and fame of the people] our Father and Uncle [gathered not disappear.] [E27]

On behalf of the Türk people,

I did not sleep during the night.
I did not sit down during the day.

Together with my brother Kül Tegin, together with two šads, I gathered {people} to the verge of death. Gathering {people} in this way,

I did not make the united people like fire and water.³⁹

When I [myself was seated as qaghan,] the people who had scattered [in all directions], [E28] on the verge of death, naked and on foot, they returned. Saying, "I will nourish the people,"

northward toward the Oghuz people,
eastward toward the Qïtan and Tatabï,
southward toward the Chinese,

[I campaigned] with a great army twelve times . . . I battled. [E29]

After that – may the Sky be gracious! –

because I have fortune,
because I have my fate,

³⁸ Bilgä does not acknowledge the brief reign of his cousin, Inäl Qaghan (716–718), against whom Kül Tegin had led the coup that brought Bilgä to the throne.

³⁹ That is, he didn't allow them to fight with one another.

I nourished to life the people who were to die:

I made the naked people to have a coat.

I made the poor people to be rich.⁴⁰

[I made them better than those with great dominion and a great qaghan.

In the four directions,] [E30] I made many peoples subject, I made them peaceful. Many looked to me, giving labor and strength.

The Exploits of Kül Tegin

Having gathered such a state, my brother Kül Tegin himself became absent.⁴¹

When my Father, the qaghan, took flight, my brother Kül Tegin was sev[en years old.] [E31] For the glory of my Umay-like Mother,⁴² my brother Kül Tegin was granted his adult name. When he was sixteen, my Uncle, the qaghan, gathered his dominion and state thus. We campaigned against the settlements of the six branches of Soghdians. The Chinese Governor Ong [came with an army of] fifty [thousand and we fought together.] [E32] Kül Tegin charged on foot. He seized Governor Ong's brother-in-law with his armor on and took him to the qaghan with his armor on. We annihilated that army there.

When he was twenty-one, we fought with General Chacha.⁴³

First [he attacked, riding] Tadiq Čor's gray [horse.

That horse] [E33] died [there.]

A second time he attacked riding Išbara Yamtar's gray horse.

That horse died there.

A third time he attacked riding Lord Yegen Silig's barded bay horse.

That horse died there.

His armor and tunic took over one hundred arrows. Not one touched his face and head. [E34]

⁴⁰ BQ E24 adds, "I made the few people numerous."

⁴¹ As above, the mention of death is avoided.

⁴² The Tonyuquq inscription (T2 W3) names Umay as a great maternal deity alongside Tengri, the paternal sky god.

⁴³ Kül Tegin would have been twenty-one in 705 CE. The next mention we have of his age is five years later (E35). Chinese sources mention Türk campaigns in 707 CE or 708 CE against the Türgäš. The latter were supported by the Chinese garrisons of Turkestan, which reported being exhausted from these campaigns: Skaff, "Loyalties Divided," 181–182 and n. 24. The following three sorties by Kül Tegin may therefore refer to a series of battles over these years.

Türk lords, you know his campaign well: we destroyed that army there. After that, the Great Irkin of the land of Bayırqu became hostile. We routed them and destroyed them at Lake Türgi Yargun. The Great Irkin fled with a few men.

When Kül Tegin was [twenty-six],⁴⁴ [E35] we campaigned against the Qırqız.⁴⁵

Breaking through snow as deep as a lance, we crossed the Kōgmān Highlands, we fell upon the Qırqız people sleeping. We fought with their qaghan on the Sunga Highlands. Kül Tegin charged riding Bayırqu's [white stallion]. [E36]

He struck one man with an arrow,
he lanced two men through the thighs.

On that attack, he broke the haunches of Bayırqu's white stallion.

We killed the Qırqız qaghan, we took his dominion.

In that year we went against the Tülgäš, passing over the Altun Highlands]⁴⁶ [E37] and crossing the Irtysh River. We fell upon the Türgäš people sleeping. At Bolču, the Türgäš Qaghan's army came like fire and storm. We fought.

Kül Tegin charged riding a white-headed gray horse.

The white-headed gray horse . . . [E38]

. . . he took the two of them . . .

Then going in again he himself seized the advisor of the Türgäš Qaghan, the governor of the Az. We killed their qaghan, we took their dominion. Many of the common Türgäš submitted. We settled that people at Tabar. [E39] Saying,

I will organize the Soghdian people,

We crossed the Syr Darya and campaigned as far as the Iron Gates.

After that the common Türgäš people became hostile, they went toward Kängiris.

Our army's horses were gaunt, their food was gone.

An evil man . . . [E40]

A brave man had attacked us.

Feeling regret at such a time, we sent forward Kül Tegin and a few men. We fought a great fight:

He charged riding Alp Šalčr's white horse.

He killed the common Türgäš people there.

He took them.

⁴⁴ Provided by comparison to BQ E26–27, where Bilgä Qaghan is twenty-seven.

⁴⁵ The remainder of the East face of the inscription tells of the momentous events of the winter of 710 CE–711 CE, culminating in the Battle of Bolču, where the eastern Türks decisively defeated the Türgäš but then overextended themselves in a further campaign into Soghdia. The campaign was led by Ton-yuquq, advisor to the Türk qaghan, and is narrated at greater length in the inscription erected by Ton-yuquq himself. The events led ultimately to the rise of Sulu (714 CE–738 CE), the most powerful leader of the Türgäš and main antagonist to early Arab efforts to bring Islam to Central Asia.

⁴⁶ The Great Altai Range.

Going again . . . [N1]

he fought with . . . and with Qošu Tutuq;

He killed many men. He captured much of their camp and property, without leaving anything behind.

When Kül Tegin was twenty-seven, the Qarluq people became hostile, coming and going as they pleased. We fought at the headwaters of the Tamag-Iduq. [N2] Kül Tegin was thirty years old at that battle.

He charged riding Alp Šalči's white horse.

He speared two men through the thigh.

We killed the Qarluqs. We took them. The Az people became hostile. We fought at Black Lake. Kül Tegin was thirty-one years old then.

He charged riding Alp Šalči's white horse. [N3]

He seized the governor-general of the Az people.

The Az people were annihilated there.

When the dominion of my Uncle the Qaghan became weak, when the people's dominion split, we fought with the Izgil people.

Kül Tegin [charged] riding Alp Šalči's white horse. [N4]

That horse fell there.

The Izgil people died.

The Toquz Oghuz people were my own people.⁴⁷ Because the Sky and Earth were disturbed, they became hostile. We fought five times⁴⁸ in one year:

First of all we fought at Tughu Baliq. [N5] Kül Tegin charged riding his palomino horse. He speared six men. He sabered a seventh man in close combat.

Secondly we fought with the Ediz at Quš-Alghaq. Kül Tegin charged riding his pale red-brown horse and speared a man. [N6] He chased and speared nine men. The [Ediz] people died there.

The third instance we fought with the Oghuz. Kül Tegin charged riding his pale horse wielding his spear. He speared their man and took their dominion.

Fourth, we fought at the headwaters of the Čuš. The Türk [N7] people were shaky-footed. They were about to come to harm. Kül Tegin put the attacking army to flight and we followed up and killed a Tongra hero and ten men at the memorial of Prince Tonga.

Fifth, we fought with the Oghuz at Izginti Qadiz. Kül Tegin [N8] charged riding his pale red-brown horse. He speared two men and thrust them into the mud. That army died there.

⁴⁷ The Toquz Oghuz eventually replaced the Ashina Türks as rulers of the eastern steppe in the form of the Uyghur Qaghanate, from 744 CE until being displaced in turn by the Kyrgyz in 840 CE. Here we hear Bilgä's description of their early rebellion, leading to Kül Tegin's death. His calls for unity among his people early in the inscription are probably mostly aimed at the Toquz Oghuz.

⁴⁸ The corresponding section in the Bilgä Qaghan inscription (BQ E30–31) only lists four battles for this year. There, the fight with the Ediz at Quš-Alghaq and the first battle with the Oghuz (the second and third battles listed here) are combined into a single battle at a place called Antirghu (?).

We wintered at Amgha Qorghān, and in the spring we campaigned against the Oghuz. With Kül Tegin leading the train, we marched. The hostile Oghuz fell on the camp.

Riding his white orphan horse, [N9]

Kül Tegin speared nine men.

He did not give up the camp.

My mother, the qatun, along with my in-laws, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses:

if you had survived, you would have become slaves.

If you had died, you would have been left lying

in the campsite and on the road. [N10]

If not for Kül Tegin, many of you would have died!

Kül Tegin's Death and Bilgä Qaghan's grief

My brother Kül Tegin became absent. I longed for him:

My seeing eyes became blind,
my thinking mind became dumb.

I longed for him. Heaven sets the time. Children of men are all born to die. [N11] How I longed for him!

Restraining tears that might come to my eye,
turning back cries that might come to my heart,

greatly I longed for him. Saying,

Ruined will be the eyes and brows of my people:
of the two Šads along with my younger brothers, my sons, my nobles,

I longed for him.

Mourning and wailing, the Qïtan and Tatabï people came, [N12] led by General Udar. From the Chinese qaghan came Isiyi Likeng. He brought a myriad of treasure, gold and silver without shortage. From the Tibetan qaghan, a minister came. From the west, where the sun sets, from the Soghdian, Persian and Bukharan people, came General Inik and Oghul Tarqan. [N13] From my On Oq son, the Türgäš Qaghan, came the seal keeper Maqarach came, the wise Oghuz seal keeper. From the Qïrğiz Qaghan came Tarduš İnanču Čor. To build the tomb, arrange the images and set up the inscription stone came the nephew of the Chinese qaghan, General Chang. [NE]

Kül Tegin took flight on the seventeenth day of the Year of the Sheep. On the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month we entombed him.⁴⁹ We finished the tomb, images,

⁴⁹ Early November, 731 CE.

and inscription stone in the Year of the Monkey, on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month.⁵⁰ Kül Tegin was forty-seven years old . . .

Governor Tuygut brought such an artist . . . [SE]

I, Yollugh Tegin, nephew of Kül Tegin, wrote this writing, this inscription.

I, Yollugh Tegin sat for twenty days and wrote on this stone, this wall.

You were a better provider than your dear children and descendants.

You took flight. In Heaven as in life . . . [SW]

The deposition of Kül Tegin's gold and silver, his goods and property, his four [thousand] horses Tuygut . . .

. . . My lord the prince upward to Heaven . . .

. . . I inscribed this stone. Prince Yollugh. [W]

The Soghdians rose in the west. Since my brother Kül Tegin . . .

since he gave his labor and strength,⁵¹

I was seated as Türk Bilgä Qaghan, looking after my brother Kül Tegin.

I gave him the title Īnanču Apa Yarghan Tarqan. I made him praiseworthy.

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⁵⁰ Late August, 732 CE.

⁵¹ The use of a contrafactual ("if not for . . . , then . . . would not have happened") is also seen above at N9 and at the end of the inscription of Tonyuquq: T2 N1-2.

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The Kabul Turks in Jāhiliyya Poetry

In his paper “Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken in der arabischen Literatur”, which Tadeusz Kowalski published in the *Körösi Csoma Archivum* II,¹ he quotes some Arabic poetry where the Turks are connected with Kabul, the ancient city situated in a valley between the peaks of the Hindukush range, in the east of present-day Afghanistan. I will first mention the verse

*nazaltu lahu ʿani ʿl-Ḍubaibi wa-qad badat musawwamatun min xaili
Turkin wa Kābuli.*

I dismounted from (my horse) aḏ-Ḍubaib to meet him, after the appearance of the pasturing horses of the Turks and Kabul.

which Ibn Manẓūr quotes in his *Lisānu ʿl-ʿArab*, the famous and extensive dictionary completed in 1290 CE,² from the otherwise unknown poet Ḥaṇẓala al-Xair ibn Abi Ruhm. The next quote is from a *qaṣīda* included in a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad edited by Ibn Ḥiṣām, originally written in the eighth century CE, although Ibn Ḥiṣām died in 833 CE. In the verse

*juṭāʿu binā ʿl-ʿudā wa-waddū lawannā tusaddu binā ʿabwābu Turkin
wa Kābuli.*

Enemies are forced to obedience by us, although they would like us to be made to bar the gates of the Turks and Kabul.³

the Turks and Kabul appear together as a distant though significant threat. The Turks in the following couplet by An-Nābiḡa aḏ-Ḍubaynī are not enemies:

*Bakā Ḥarīṭu ʿl-Jawlāni min faqdi rabbihi wa Ḥawrānu minhu mūḥišun
mutaḏāʿilu
Quṣūdan lahu Ḡassānu yarjūna ʿawbahu wa Turkin waraḥṭu ʿl-Aṣjamīna
wa Kābulu.*

The Golan farmer is crying because of the loss of his master, while (the Region of) Ḥawrān, heartbroken at his death, has withered.⁴

The Ghassān are waiting for him to return, sitting motionless, as are the Turks, the Persian kin and Kabul.

1 Kowalski, “Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken,” 38–41.

2 Kowalski, 41, from the edition published 1883–1890 in Egypt.

3 Kowalski, 41, from the edition in Wüstenfeld 1858–1860.

4 Quoted in Kowalski, 38–39, from the Ahlwardt 1870 edition of an-Nābiḡa, XXI, 29–30. Kowalski did not understand this verse because he did not know the location of the Ghassanids’ capital al-Jābiya, which is situated between the southern Golan Heights (*Jawlān* in Arabic) in the West and the fruitful Ḥawrān plain (biblical Bashan) in the East.

The Ghassanids were a pre-Islamic Arab kingdom mainly in present-day Syria and Jordan whose influence extended all the way to Madina. Their sheikhs were, in the latter part of the sixth century CE, phylarches or allies of the Eastern Roman Empire; they fought alongside the Greeks against the Persian Sassanid Empire and the Sassanids' Arab vassals, the Lakhmids. They were Christians, prospered economically, patronized the arts and entertained the Arabian poets An-Nābiġa aḍ-Ḍubyānī (536 CE–604 CE) and Ḥassān ibn Thābit (563 CE–674 CE) at their courts. An-Nābiġa aḍ-Ḍubyānī's couplet is part of a funeral ode on the death of An-Nuṣmān ibnu 'l-Ḥārīt, one of their rulers. He apparently lost his life in an attack on the Lakhmids around the year 600 CE, which enabled the Byzantines to conquer Sassanid territory.

Let us finally quote the (here shortened) verses of al-Aṣṣā, who is said to have died around 622 CE:

*Walaqad šaribtu 'l-xamra tarquḍu ḥawlanā Turkun wa Kābul
ka-dami 'd-ḡabihi.*

I often drank wine like (i.e., as red as) blood of slaughtered animals,
with Turks and Kabul prancing around us.⁵

This must have been written between 575 CE and 580 CE, as it addresses Qais ibn Maṣḍikarib, known for his attack on ṢAmr ibn Hind (ruled between 554 CE and 570 CE). Al-Aṣṣā mentions in his poems that he traveled to many countries, among them to Persia.⁶ He might have met prancing Turks somewhere in the east, though, in the sixth century CE, not in Persia.

To judge by these examples, there seems to have been present in the imagination of Arab literati of the latter part of the sixth century CE some vague knowledge of equestrian and apparently warlike activity of Turks in Kabul. In the second half of the sixth century CE, there were Turks busy building an empire in and around modern-day Mongolia, a Turk embassy arrived in Constantinople in 568 CE, and the diplomatic contacts between the two states continued into the following decade. But could the Arab poets have heard about them, and what connection could they have made between Turks and Kabul? We will try to give a short account of what was taking place in and around Kabul at that time.

Let us first quote a surprising statement by the Byzantine historian Theophanes, who, in his *Historika*, documented the events of the years 566 CE–581 CE: Speaking of Turks, he says that the Persians in their mother tongue call the Turks *Karmikhīōnes*.⁷ We should look at the people called *Karmikhīōnes* to understand in what sense they might have been Turks. The first part of this ethnic name comes from *karmūr*, which

⁵ Quoted in Kowalski, 40, from Geyer 1921, 77.

⁶ Quoted by Kowalski, 40, from a pre-publication version of Geyer 1928.

⁷ Moravcsik, 1983 (a reprint of the 1958 edition), I, 539–540, has all available information concerning Theophanes Byzantios and his work and in, II, 158–159 offers the quotation in Greek and all academic discussion about it by Bailey, Chavannes, Németh and others.

means “red” in Middle Persian or Pahlavi, the language of the Sassanids. The second part appears as *Chionites* already in the Latin work of Ammianus Marcellinus from Antiokhia (present-day Antakya) who, two centuries earlier, participated in the wars between the Roman and Sassanian empires. In 357 CE Ammianus was in Bactria, the plain that straddles modern-day Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan south of the Amu Darya river, west of the Pamirs and north of the Hindu Kush range; he says that the *Chionitae* had previously lived in Transoxania and, after entering Bactria, became vassals of the Kushans, were influenced culturally by them and adopted the Bactrian language: They attacked the Sassanid Empire but later served as mercenaries in the Sassanid army. The reference is to a complex of peoples named *Xiiaona* in the Old Iranian Avesta, *Khōn* or *Khyōn* in Middle Persian, known as *Hūṇā* in India. These are romanizations of an ethnonym in Sogdian spelled as *Xwn*. *Khyōn* is surprisingly similar to the first syllable of the name of the Xiongnu, the tribal confederation of nomadic peoples who, according to Chinese sources, inhabited the eastern Central Asian Steppe from the third century BCE to the late first century CE. After their previous rivals, the Yuezhi, migrated into Central Asia during the second century BCE, the Xiongnu became a dominant power on the steppes of north-east Central Asia, centered on present-day Mongolia, active also in areas now part of Siberia, Inner Mongolia, Gansu and Xinjiang. The second syllable of *Xiongnu* signifies “slave” and appears to have been purely derogatory. In the Soghdian Ancient Letters, the Xiongnu are, however, called *Xwn*, pronounced *Khōn* or *Khūn*, the name later used in Soghdian for the Chionites. It is also, of course, the name of the Eastern European Huns, who (according to Ptolemy, Marcellinus and Priscus) also came from Central Asia, arrived on the Volga around 370 CE, by 430 CE established a vast, if short-lived, dominion in Europe, vanquished various Germanic peoples and made frequent and devastating raids into Gaul, Italy and the (Eastern) Roman Empire. Étienne de la Vaissière has argued convincingly that the Xiongnu and the European Huns are in fact related to various people with similar names in and around present-day Afghanistan.⁸

The Iranians distinguished between two main subgroups of Khionites, which they called *Karmīr Khyon* “Red Huns” and *Spet Khyon* “White Huns”. The Kidarites and the Alkhons were classified as “Red Huns”. The *Spet Khyon* or “White Huns”, known in India as *Sveta-Hūṇā*, are otherwise called Hephthalites. Who were all these people?

The Kidarites were a nomadic ethnic group which appears to have originated in the Altai mountains region (the homeland of the Turks); they consolidated their power in Northern Afghanistan before conquering Peshawar (in present-day northwest Pakistan) and parts of northwest India including Gandhara probably sometime between 390 CE and 410 CE; in 420 CE they drove out the Kushan-Shahs, the eastern vassals of the Sassanid empire, from present-day Afghanistan. In 443 CE, however, the Sassanids launched a campaign against them, driving them out beyond the Oxus river in 450 CE.

⁸ Publications of 2005 and 2014 and elsewhere.

Their name comes from Kidara (Chinese 寄多羅 *Jiduoluo*, ancient pronunciation *Kjietala*), one of their main rulers. The fifth-century-CE Byzantine historian Priscus says that the Kidarites were “Huns” (Οὔννοι οἱ Κιδαρίται). In a recently discovered seal with the image of a ruler like those of the Kidarite coins, the ruler named himself in Bactrian “King of the Huns and Great Kushan Shah” (*uonano shao o(a)zarko (k)oshanoshao*).

The Kidarites were pushed into northern India both by their defeats against the Sassanians and the rise of the Hephthalites. The Hephthalites were fighting the Sassanids already in 442 CE and formed in Bactria around 450 CE; around 451 CE they moved southeast into Gandhara. In 456 CE a Hephthalite embassy arrived in China. By 458 CE they were strong enough to intervene in Persia. Around 466 CE they probably conquered Transoxanian lands from the Kidarites with Persian help but soon took from Persia the area of Balkh and eastern Kushanshahr. In the second half of the fifth century CE, they controlled Merv and the deserts of Turkmenistan as far as the Caspian Sea. By 500 CE they held the whole of Bactria and the Pamirs and parts of Afghanistan. Probably in the late fifth century CE, they took Kashghar and Khotan and in 479 CE the eastern Tarim Basin. In 497 CE–509 CE, they pushed north of Turfan to the Urumchi region. Around 557 CE the Western Turks allied themselves with the Sassanians against the Hephthalites and by 560 CE had destroyed their presence in Bactria.

The Alkhons or Alkhans were another group of Hunnic occupiers of the region. They occupied Bactria circa 370 CE and emerged in Kāpīśā (modern Bagram) around 380 CE,⁹ taking over Kabulistan from the Sassanian Persians while the Kidarites still ruled in Gandhara. After 385 CE they started minting anonymous coins, using Sassanian coinage designs with busts imitating Sassanian rulers, adding the Alkhan *tamgha* 𐰽 and, on the obverse, the name “Alkhan” (spelled αλχονο or αλχοννο or rather αλχανο / αλχαννο in Greco-Bactrian script, where the letter o can mark the end of words) and a fire altar with attendants, a standard Sassanian design, on the reverse.

They conquered Kabul in 388 CE, and it was the base from which they went on their conquests till the end of the sixth century CE. Around 430 CE King Khingila, the most notable Alkhan ruler and the first one to be named and represented on his coins with the legend χιγγιλο in Bactrian script, took control of the routes across the Hindu Kush from the Kidarites;¹⁰ diplomatic missions were established in 457 CE with China. Alkhan ruler Mehama (r. 461 CE–493 CE) was elevated to the position of governor for the Sasanian emperor, allied with him in his victory over the Kidarites in 466 CE and was later able to wrest autonomy or even independence. Between 460 CE and 470 CE, the Alkhans took over Gandhara and the Panjāb, which also had remained under the control of the Kidarites. They appear to have destroyed many Buddhist monasteries and

⁹ Sims-Williams in Lee and Sims-Williams 2003, 166, prefers to read the name as *Alkhan*; thus, also Bakker 2020.

¹⁰ Khingila, under the name *Shengil*, was called “King of India” in the *Shahname* of Ferdowsi. In view of the variant *Eškingil* quoted in Sims-Williams 2002, 233, from a Bactrian source, the original form of the name might be the highly un-Turkical **Škingil*.

stupas at Taxila, a high center of learning, which never recovered from the destruction; it is thought that the Kanishka stupa, one of the most famous and tallest buildings in antiquity, was one of them. The rest of the fifth century CE marks a period of territorial expansion into northwestern India by the Alkhan. In the 480s CE their rulers Toramana and Mihirakula broke through the defenses of the Indian Gupta empire which, at its zenith (319 CE–467 CE),¹¹ covered much of the Indian subcontinent. They attacked them through the Khyber pass and, by the year 500 CE, overran much of the empire in the northwest; their attacks appear to have caused the disintegration of the Gupta empire. But the Guptas, although their power was much diminished, continued to resist the Huns: Toramana was defeated in 510 and the Huns were driven out of India in 528 CE. The Alkhan invasions, although only spanning a few decades, had long term effects on India, and in a sense brought an end to Classical Indian civilization. Soon after the invasions, the Gupta Empire, already weakened by these invasions and the rise of local rulers, ended as well. Following the invasions, northern India was left in disarray, with numerous smaller states emerging after the crumbling of the Guptas. The Hūṇā invasions appear also to have seriously damaged India's trade with Europe and Central Asia; in particular the Indo-Roman trade relations, which the Gupta empire had greatly benefited from. Bakker 2020 reconstructs the history of the great Alkhan rulers and the impact of their invasion and control of large parts of Northern and Western India on Indian history and culture, in particular on the Gupta Empire.

The Alkhans are called Hūṇā in various Gupta inscriptions. Toramana bears the title *Hūnarāja* (“Huna King”). *Alkhan* would be a combination of Turkic *al* “scarlet, vermilion, bright red”,¹² together with *khōn*, meaning “Red Huns”, red being a symbol of the south among steppe nomads; this name would be the source of Iranian *Karmīr Khyōn*. If the correct reading is *Alkhan*, *khan* would be the common Central Asian title. With either of these etymologies, the Alkhons would be speaking a Turkic language (unlike the Hephthalites). One is then reminded of the Harahūṇā, one of the “barbaric” tribes localized north of the Himalaya mountain range, referred to already beside the Hūṇā in the Mahābhārata, the Indian national epic, in sections added to the text in the fourth and fifth centuries CE: Hara reminds us of *kara*, “black” in Turkic and Mongolic, very often pronounced with a fricative in its onset.¹³ This would be another qualifying color term in a Hun ethnic name. Admittedly, the names of the rulers of all these people are not Turkic, but personal names in very many societies are borrowed from languages of others, whose cultures were dominant in some stage or another.

¹¹ Sims-Williams 2002, 233, considered these rulers as well as Khiṅgila to be Hephthalites.

¹² This Common Turkic adjective has a long *ā* in Turkmen. It was borrowed into some Mongolic languages and into Russian. The alternative suggestion that the syllable comes from an old dialect variant of *ārya* (appearing with /l/ as the name of the Alans, who spoke Old-Ossetic) is unacceptable because this variant is characteristic of North-West Iranian.

¹³ Cf. also the Old Turkic adjective *kutlug* which appears as χοτολoyo in a Bactrian manuscript.

The Nezak were the last Khōn/Khionite/Hūṇā dynasty of Bactrian rulers. They enter the historical record in the late fifth century. and, from 484 CE on, consolidated their power in Zabulistan; they ruled from Ghazne and Kāpiśā. They are called Nezak because the inscriptions on their coins, minted in Ghazne, often bear the mention *Nezak Shah*. There is significant coinage documenting the Nezak polity's prosperity, with their characteristic gold bull's-head crown. In the sixth century CE, the Nezak expanded into Kabulistan (part of the kingdom of Kāpiśī) and deposed the Alkhon Huns from Kāpiśī. Around the end of the sixth century CE, the Alkhons withdrew to Kashmir and, pulling back from Panjāb and Gandhara, resettled in Kabulistan. Coinage there suggests that the Alkhons merged with the Nezak – as coins in Nezak style now bear the Alkhon *tamga* mark.¹⁴ They minted coins well into the eighth century CE, at which time it appears that a confederacy emerges between the Nezaks and the Alkhons, possibly against Turkic invaders. The Nezak were Buddhist; Xuanzang, the learned translator of much Buddhist scripture into Chinese, visited their capital Kāpiśī in 630 CE and reported on the Buddhist institutions and activity which he found there.

The groups I have mentioned may not have been distinct in every respect; the Nezak have, e.g., been said to be Hephthalites, as have the Alkhans. I agree with de la Vaissière 2007 that they cannot really be distinguished by nationality. They all appear to have, at some stage, adopted the Bactrian language, at least for administrative purposes. What is clear, in any case, is that they all were “Hunnic” in one sense or another and that they were a serious threat emanating from Kabul for the Persian Sassanids and the Gupta Empire in India, practically destroying the latter. This accords with their image among the early Arab poets. But in what sense were they Turks? We have already quoted the statement of Theophanes to the effect that the Persians considered them to be Turks, and “Hunnic” may be “Turkic” in some senses. But what about real Turks?

After vanquishing the Hephthalites together with the Sassanids, The Western Turks of Istemi and his successors did not settle in Bactria: The first documentation of their physical presence there is in the year 629 CE, too late to be the source of inspiration for the Arab poets. The Kabul Turks who had penetrated the poetic imagery of the Jāhilī poets were not those of the Türk Empire: There must have been other Turks who were there before them, and I propose that they were the Khalaj.

In Bactrian documents this ethnic name is attested as χαλασο in a sale contract for a slave boy dated to 678 CE, qualifying the reference to the boy (his name is torn away). The word should be read as *Khalaj*: The coda *o* marks word borders in the Bactrian adaptation of the Greek alphabet, and the *s* is used also for the voiceless affricate [č].¹⁵ In a deed of 710 CE, Bag-aziyas, the queen of the *Xayan Xutluy Tapayliy Bilgäh Sävüh* is said to be a princess of the Khalaj, here in the inflected form χαλασανο. The name

¹⁴ Inaba 2006, 1–2, and others take the Nezak to be identical to the Alkhan in the first place; this is quite possible.

¹⁵ Also e. g. in the title *čopan* spelled as σωπανο and in σακο “document, receipt”, corresponding to Khorezmian *čikk* and Persian *čak* (Sims-Williams 2002: 233).

χαλασο already appears on the reverse of two specimens of a coin described in Alram and Lo Muzio 2006 (last two letters uncertain). Its obverse is a close imitation of a Peroz drachm with a bust of the Sassanian emperor Peroz, who died in 484 CE; according to the authors, the Hephthalites' coinage with those drachms as model started soon after his death. The ninth-century-CE polymath al-Xwārizmī says that the Khalaj were “remnants” of the Hephthalites;¹⁶ this coin shows that the Khalaj indeed continued their minting traditions.

Inaba 2006, Kim 2016 and others have described what looked to them like a growing Turkization of the Nezak during the seventh century CE. The Turk-Shahi dynasty took power there and ruled till the ninth century CE. Their capital was at first Bagram, though the center of power shifted to Kabul. Numerous Turk-Shahi rulers are said to have governed the Kābul valley and the old province of Gandhara. Inaba uses onomastics for proving that the Turk-Shahis were indeed of Khalaj ethnicity. The name Turk-Shahi would mean, then, that the Turkic identity of the Khalaj became more salient in the seventh century CE, during the appearance of their northern kin in this region. Sims-Williams makes it likely that the local ruler of Ghazne in 724 CE, the author of the inscription of Tang-i Safedak, was a Khalaj, while the Türk ruler referred to in the inscription together with the Arab ruler was a foreign power vying for dominance with the Arabs.¹⁷ Inaba 2006 holds the same opinion about the Turk-Shahi administration.

It appears, then, that the Khalaj had a long-standing presence in the Kabul region. The best proof for the early separation of the Khalaj from the other Turks is their language, which is now only spoken in some villages in western Iran; it is more archaic than that of the extant Old Turkic texts in several respects, which we will list here with some detail:

The Khalaj word for “isn’t” is *dāġ*, which is not attested in any Old Turkic source but, according to the eleventh-century-CE encyclopedist Maḥmūd, was in use in the early Turkic dialect of the Arġu.¹⁸ Maḥmūd says that the word *tāġül* “isn’t”, which he knew from the Oġuz dialect of his time, comes from *dāġ ol* together with the demonstrative pronoun, and he may actually be right: This negation is attested in different forms in a number of older and newer Oġuz and Qipchaq languages, among them *tuṽl* in Karakalpak and Noġay. Old Turkic practically always uses *är-māz*, the negative aorist of the verb “to be”; it hardly has any examples of opaque *tāġül*, not to speak of *dāġ*.

Khalaj is the only Turkic language to have quite consequently preserved the consonant /h/ in word onset, e. g. in the words *hayaĉ* “tree” and *hāy* “moon”; otherwise, this onset was only reconstructed for Proto-Turkic. It also appears in the title *hilitbār* which

¹⁶ Bosworth and Clauson, “Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia,” 6.

¹⁷ The name Türk is here written as ḍopko with *d*. As Sims-Williams points out, the Tibetan names for the Türk also all had a voiced onset, as also Pulleyblank’s Early Middle Chinese reconstruction of *tujue*. For Tang-i Safedak, see Lee and Sims-Williams, “The Antiquities and Inscription of Tang-i Safedak,” 167–169.

¹⁸ See page 511 in the manuscript, as well as page 198 (Dankoff and Kelly 1984, 227; and 1982, 300).

we find in the early eighth century-CE documents from Bactria; in Old Turkic this title is spelled *il(i)tbār* without *h*.¹⁹

/X/, the fourfold vowel harmony, is in Khalaj preserved as /U/, i. e. the alternation of /u/ and /ü/; e. g. *tāğ+luğ* “mountaineous”, *baluq* “village” or *hācūğ* “bitter” (two of these words also showing inherited vowel length). This must also be what Proto-Turkic had, as /U/ corresponds to Old Turkic /X/ in Mongolic cognates.²⁰ The shape of the word *sāvūg* “beloved”, appearing as the ruler’s proper name in an early eighth century-CE Bactrian manuscript,²¹ also shows this feature.

The Khalaj genitive suffix *+(U)ŋ* is another element which the archphoneme /U/ where Proto-Turkic had *i* / *u* / *ü*. *+(U)ŋ* is doubly archaic, in that the /U/ of Khalaj appears only after consonants, while stems ending in vowels only get *+ŋ* (there is a similar vowel / Ø alternation also in Chuvash, which is not less archaic than Khalaj).²²

The Turkic “equative” case suffix *+čA* in Old Turkic sometimes also had limitative or prolativ meanings (i. e., “up to a certain point” and “by a certain road”), which refer to position and movement in space: There are examples like *kök kalık yolınča* “(to fly) by the sky” or, in Khakas, *čolča par-* “to walk along the road”. Its prolativ function seems to have been the original one, because meanings such as quantitative approximation, judgement, or concrete and abstract accordance, also found in Old Turkic, would be likeliest to have come from this function. In Khalaj, and only there, *+čA* is the locative suffix and I take this meaning to have come from its prolativ function.

In Khalaj as in Yakut and Turkmen, the opposition between short and long vowels is phonemic not only in loanwords but also in words inherited from Proto-Turkic. No other Turkic language has systematically inherited this opposition, though it has led to regular reflexes in the western Oghuz languages. If Old Turkic had this distinction, our sources do not show it.²³

Khalaj also has some archaic lexemes. I will here only mention *hū-* “to bring out”, the base of the Old Turkic verb *ün-* “to emerge”, which turns out to be expanded with the reflexive suffix. This base is not attested anywhere else and here shows that it had an onset /h/ also in Proto-Turkic.

19 See Sims-Williams 2000, mss. N, P and Q. The reading of this title as *iltābār* in runiform inscriptions is an often-repeated error, emanating from the assumption that it consists of *el* ‘nation’ plus the aorist form of a (nonexistent!) verb *tāb-*. The runiform writing system had no letter for the sound /h/.

20 Old Turkic /U/, on the other hand, comes from Proto-Turkic /O/, as we understand, e. g., from Old Turkic *altun* “gold” and from forms in the Yakut (Saha) language.

21 In Sims-Williams 2000 ms. T.

22 All other Turkic languages including Old Turkic extended the suffix by an onset /n/, taken over from the pronominal declension. The suffix then appears as *-nUŋ* in some early Manichaean texts and in Early Anatolian Turkish. Early Old Turkic and the Oğuz languages and dialects show *+Xŋ* after consonants but *+nXŋ* after vowels, while the other Turkic languages have *+nXŋ* after all stems.

23 The Indian writing systems, which could have expressed this distinction, were borrowed through languages which did not have it. The situation in Haqani sources in Arabic writing has still not been fully investigated.

In some other cases, Khalaj has preserved features otherwise found only in Old Turkic but in no later Turkic language, among them the dative suffix form +*kA*. The phoneme /d/ of Proto-Turkic and Old Turkic became /y/, /t/ or /r/ in practically all other Turkic languages but has remained /d/ in Khalaj. The only other Turkic language which preserves /d/ between vowels is Tuvan, but that language devoices it to /t/ in final position. Like Old Turkic, the inherited words of Khalaj only have the stops /k/, /t/ and /b/ in their onset, whereas other Turkic languages have sometimes changed these to /g/, /d/ and /p/. Old Turkic has an element +*di*+ after personal pronouns and before case suffixes, as in *sin+di+da* “with you” in Old Uyğur. The only modern Turkic language where this element appears is Khalaj, e. g. in the synonymous *sāndičä*, or in *māndi bara* “like me”.

Clearly, the ancestors of the Turkic Bulgars and Chuvash had an existence independent of the other Turks when they had their linguistic contact with the prehistoric Mongolians and Samoyeds before they left for the far west. The Khalaj must have been the next to migrate, toward the south, before a common Turkic language was formed and consolidated through the Türk Empire. They clearly did not call themselves Turks as that was, from the sixth century on, only the name of the elite of that empire, which reached far into the west and the south. We still don’t know what the position of the Khalaj was among or within the Hunnic political agents described above, possibly being identical with one or more of them. But they still must have been similar enough to the Turks of the northern Empire for this name to be connected to Kabul in the mind of the poets of faraway Syria.

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Tyntchtykbek Chorotegin (Tchoroev)

Migration Processes in Central Asia From the Middle of the Eighth to Early Tenth Century and Their Consequences

Analyzing the migration of the Kyrgyz,¹ Shatuo Turks, Uyghurs and other Inner Asian Turkic and Mongolic-speaking peoples of the eighth to thirteenth century CE remains one of the most-important tasks of modern Turkic and Mongolic studies. The study of migration processes fits into the framework of comprehensive studies on the ethnogenesis of modern Ala-Too and Fuyu Kyrgyz, Tuvinians, Khakassians, Altai, Saryg-Uyghurs, Lobnors, Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Bashkirs and other peoples and should become an organic link in the study of the migration processes of the Turkic-Mongolic peoples, from the Xiongnu and Donghu times in the first millennium BCE to the present. These ethnic processes have recently been viewed as a phenomenon by UNESCO arising from socioeconomic factors in the region of the so-called “Central Asian nomadic civilization”.

If some researchers approached this problem from a simplified political point of view, noting only the facts of movement due to political reasons (i.e., resettlement after defeat in a war with enemies or movement in order to conquer new areas), then in modern historiography, this issue is closely related to the very process of socioeconomic development of a society. New research attempts have established new directions for identifying various factors of migration, including the economic influence issues and geographical factor on the nature and scale of migration.² Perhaps, one of the achievements of modern researchers in this matter is to prove, on the basis of complex material, the multistructured nature of the economy of the so-called Central Asian nomadic civilization.³ Traditional sources should recognize that the leading role in the study of the economic development of societies of “nomadic civilization” belongs to archeologists and that “without archaeological research the complete history of the steppe peoples cannot be written.”⁴

The archeological culture of nomads that developed in the Middle Ages and acted in accordance with new ethnic situations as the quintessence of ethnogenetic processes in their society “became the cultures that emerged to transform into a state”.⁵ Therefore, their appearance, prosperity and disappearance were in direct dependence on

1 Choroev, “Srednevekovye migratsii v Tsentral’noi Azii,” 522–528. Karaev and Kojobekov, “O peresele-nii eniseiskikh kirgizov na Tian’-Shan’,” 41–66.

2 See Panarin, *Migration Throughout Times*; compare with Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*.

3 However, al-Jakhiz (ninth century) saw the Turks as only people with nomadic economy. See Mandel’shtam, “Kharakteristika tiurkov IX v.,” 1 (1956): 232; Kliashtornyĭ, Sultanov, *Kazakhstan*, 102–103.

4 Pletneva, “Zakliuchnie,” 237.

5 Pletneva, “Zakliuchnie,” 238.

the political history of these states. According to S. A. Pletnyova, these patterns can be clearly traced on the well-studied culture of the Uyghur (mid-eighth to mid-ninth century), Kyrgyz Khaganate (sixth to eighth century CE), Khazar Khaganate (eighth to tenth century CE) and Volga river basin Bulgaria (tenth to eleventh century CE). Data from archeological sources on the existence of these states coincide with the materials of the written sources of these centuries.⁶

Hence, researchers have to approach the issue of migration in Central Asia (including Inner Asia) in the middle of the eighth century CE to the beginning of the tenth century CE in a new way. It is important to note that on the map compiled by Pletnyova,⁷ these migrations do not reflect this, although arrows indicate the corresponding movement of peoples of the western part of Central Asia and the Volga basin region (Khazars, Pechenegs, Qypchaqs, or Kypchaks) of the same period. We also need to mention the early migration of medieval Hungarians from the Volga basin to the Central Europe. They also included the rebellious Qabar (Khabar) tribe of the Khazar people. The presence of a Turkic aristocracy among the Hungarians could explain the Byzantine protocol by which, in the exchange of ambassadors under Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Hungarian rulers were always referred to as “Princes of the Turks”.⁸

Both direct and indirect evidences of the movements of Turkic-speaking peoples of Central and Inner Asia in the eight to ninth century CE are available in eastern sources (Istakhri, Khudud al-'Alam, Marvazi, Tang chronicles and Turkic sources written in various alphabets).

The last twenty years of the Uyghur Khaganate (744 CE–840 CE) in Mongolia and neighboring parts of Inner Asia witnessed a period of exhausting feuds on the vast territory of the Eastern Turkic state. As in all nomadic and seminomadic empires, the main events took place in the central regions of the khaganate, in the Orkhon river basin (in present-day Northern Mongolia).

The historical identity of the post-Mongolian Uyghurs intertwined with bizarre legends recorded by the Persian-speaking author of *Ala al-Din*, Ata Malik Juweini, who connects the historical homeland of the Uyghurs with the Orkhon:

We will present some of the information from the books of the Uyghurs, he says, not because we give faith to their stories, but simply to show their peculiarity. The Uyghurs think that their people originally lived on the banks of the Orkhon, which originates in the mountains called the Karakorum.⁹

⁶ Pletneva, “Zakliuchnie,” 238; see also figure 103 at page 282 (map); Pletnjowa, *Die Chasaren*.

⁷ Pletneva, “Zakliuchnie,” 282 (even though Zakliuchenie, i.e. conclusion ends at page 239, but there are a lot of illustrations and maps after that page). See: https://www.archaeolog.ru/media/books_arch_ussr/ArchaeologyUSSR_01.pdf, accessed 11 October 2022.

⁸ Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, 178. See also Grousset, *Stepler İmparatorluğu*.

⁹ D'Osson, *Istoriia mongolov*, 241; Mirza Muḥammad, *The Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha*, 39; English transl. by John Andrew Boyle Boyle: Juwaini, 54.

Additionally, these sources mention that during the years of political power of the Uyghur Buku Khagan (i.e., Bögü Qaghan; r. 759–779 CE) was founded as the capital city: “His troops returned from all these countries [i.e., Mongols, Kyrgyz, Tanguts and Khitan] with huge booty and brought many prisoners to the banks of the Orkhon, where they built the city of Ordu-Balyq; the whole of the east was conquered”.¹⁰

It is interesting to compare this inscription with the Shine-Usu inscription, where the Uyghur khagan, the founder of the entire Uyghur Khaganate Bayan-chor (Eletmish Bilge Khagan), after victorious battles with external and internal enemies in the year 757 CE ordered the Sogdians and Chinese (Tabgachs) to build the city of Bai-Balyq on the banks of the Selenga River.¹¹

Whereas in the Terkhin-Gol river basin inscription, it is stated that by order of Eletmish Bilge Khagan, the khan’s summer headquarters was built in the upper reaches of the Tez River, on the western border of Ötüken. The Uyghur khagan spent two summers in these headquarters in the year of the snowleopard (750 CE) and in the year of the snake (753 CE).¹²

Rashid al-Din informs us about the Orkhon Uyghurs. He also wrote about the existing Uyghur historical and genealogical literature:

Since the history of the Uyghurs is very detailed, . . . On the basis of their own books, in addition to this history (of the Mongols), I will give it in full. . . . This whole country [the Karakorum region] was in the past inhabited by the Uyghur peoples. Those who occupied the banks of ten rivers were called On Uyghurs; those who lived along nine rivers – Toquz Uyghurs.¹³

The ethnonym “On Uyghur” was first recorded in an inscription from Shine-Usu next to the ethnonym “Toquz Oghuz”.¹⁴ Although in the next line, the Uyghur khagan speaks of the “Toquz Oghuz” as their own people. Hence the Turkish historian Faruk Sümer concludes that from the point of view of tribal organization “Toquz Oghuz” has a different meaning.¹⁵

This is an important notion and contrary to F. Sumer’s opinion, it should not contradict the fact that during the period of the Second East Turkic Khaganate the Uyghurs were in an organic link with the Toquz Oghuz. The latter, as V. F. Minorsky noted, were their “own people” of both the Eastern Turkic khagans and the Uyghurs.¹⁶ This was even

¹⁰ D’Osson, *Istoriia mongolov*, 242. Mirza Muhammad, *The Ta’rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha*, vol 1, part 1, 42; English transl. by Boyle, vol. 1, 57–58. See also: Kamalov, *Drevnie uigury*, 179–187.

¹¹ Kudaybergenov, *Orkhon-Enisey tekstteri* (Frunze: “Ilim” Basmasi, 1982), 122; 126; 137.

¹² Klišhtornyi, “Terkhinskaia Klišhtornyi nadpis’,” 92; Klišhtornyi, “Novye epigraficheskie raboty,” 119–120.

¹³ D’Osson, *Istoriia mongolov*, 244.

¹⁴ Kudaybergenov, *Orkhon-Enisey tekstteri*, 123; 132. See also Hamilton, *Toquz-oyuz et on-uyyur* 39.

¹⁵ Sümer, *Oğuzlar* 22: “The Dokuz-Oghuz is a completely different entity from the On-Uyghur tribe, as it is from the *Tuerk bodun* [people].”

¹⁶ Minorsky, “Tamīm ibn Bahr’s Journey,” 287. Further, Minorsky doubts the stability of the tribal organization on Orkhon, with which one cannot fully agree.

though their internal structure could represent a separate ethnic group, i.e., a stabilized ethnic core in the early medieval ages.

“On Uyghur” as an ethnonym is also found in the Türkic-language Manichean text from Qocho (about the ninth to tenth century CE).¹⁷ This once again emphasizes the ethnic continuity between the population of the Uyghur Khaganate centered on the Orkhon (eighth to ninth century CE) and the Turkic-speaking population of the Turfan region of the ninth to fourteenth century CE. This is contrary to the opinion of some researchers who are inclined to deny the participation of the Uyghurs in the creation of a compact and rather strong state in the region of the Turfan oasis in the second half of ninth century CE.¹⁸

The Uyghur Khaganate marks an important stage in the development of statehood among the Eastern Turks. The consolidation of centralized power under the rule of the Uyghur clan Yaglaqar proceeded with the preservation of a strong centrifugal tendency of various subordinate ethnic groups and the Uyghur tribal groups. State unity in 744 CE–840 CE became an important sociopolitical factor to form the core of the Uyghurs in the early medieval age.¹⁹

A number of *Arabic-script* sources have important evidence of the Uyghur Khaganate. For example Gardizi (Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd-al-Ḥayy ibn Ḥaḥḥāk b. Maḥmūd Gardīzī; eleventh century CE), partly dating back to the Arabic-language source of the second half of the eighth century CE, recorded the Eastern Turks from the second half of the eighth century CE.

Another important source, often cited by a number of Arab geographers, are the records of the Muslim traveler Tamim ibn Bahr al-Muttawwaʿī. Minorsky offers a system in his article that reflects the continuity to pass the message of al-Muttawwaʿī in the Arabic-speaking geographical literature of the ninth to thirteenth century. (al-Muttawwaʿī → Ibn Khordadbeh → Ibn al-Faḥīh → Yaqut, etc.).²⁰

Of course, analysis of al-Muttawwaʿī's records is by no means confined to the indicated author; however, Minorsky demonstrates the tradition of compiling information about the Eastern Turks using this source as an example. The author concludes that al-Muttawwaʿī most likely visited the Uyghur Khaganate around the year 821 CE, during the rule of the tenth khagan, Chung-te (821 CE–824 CE), or at the end of the life of his predecessor, Pao-i (the ninth khagan, ruled at the end of 808 CE–821 CE).²¹

17 Hamilton, *Toquz-oyuz et on-uyyur*, 39–40; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 21–22. Togan, *En Eski Devirlerden*, 46, 148, 155, 157.

18 Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva v IX–XII vv*, 8.

19 For more details about political events in Central Asia VIII–IX centuries, see Ashrafian and others, eds., *Istoriia narodov Vostochnoi*, 214–215; Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 19–28; Tikhonov, *Khox-iaistvo i obshchestvennyi stroi Uigurskogo gosudarstva*, 26–32; Klīashtornyi, “Khunnyi i tiurki,” 139–153. On the ethnonym “Uyghur”, see: Clauson, “The Name Uyghur,” 140–149.

20 Minorsky, “Tamim ibn Bahr’s Journey,” 277.

21 Minorsky, 303.

However, due to a lack of information, Minorsky was forced to refer to Tabari's records on Maverannahr and Khorasan in Dhu al-Qa'dah 205 / April 821 CE, where it is stated that the Toquz Oghuz, whom he refers to as "Toquzguz", went (attacked?) to Usrushana.²² Hence, it is difficult to conclude that the date given by the author is final. Overall, he is right when he refers that the capital city of Toquz Oghuz is actually a city of Uyghurs on the Orkhon (until the year 840 CE) that later became a large imperial city of Karakorum at the beginning of the thirteenth century CE (about 1220 CE).²³

Al-Muttawwa'i's records inform on the Eastern Khaganate of the Turks and the regions adjacent to it states:

Tamim ibn Bahr al-Muttawwa'i said: . . . He [al-Muttawwa'i. – T. Ch.] followed to the country (*bilad*) of the Toquzguz Khakan with the mail sent by Khakan. For days and nights he rode (*sikak*) with a quick and hasty ride in three stages.²⁴ So he rode for twenty days across the steppes, where there are water sources and pastures and where there is no village, no cities, except for the people of post stations. They live in tents. . . . Then he rode (for another) twenty days along the adjacent villages and numerous cultivated lands, all or the majority of the population of which are Turks. Among them there are fire-worshippers from the sect of magus (*majus*), there are also Manicheans (*zindiq*) among them. After these days he arrived in the capital city (*madina*) of the ruler (toquzguz).²⁵

Al-Muttawwa'i's records contain an important point related to the political life of the Uyghur Khaganate, which has not been fully appreciated:

He said that to the right [Minorsky interprets this as "South"] of the capital city of the ruler of the Toquzguz is the country of the Turks, with whom no one communicates except them. To the left [North " according to Minorsky] is the country of Kimaks, and in front ["to the east"] the country of al-Sin.²⁶

Here al-Muttawwa'i mentions Turks as the southern neighbors of the Toquz Oghuz. According to Minorsky, the phrase "with which no one communicates" means that he does not have the full information about them. He believes that these Turks can be Shatuo Turks and their allies.

Shatuo Turks lived in the north-eastern outskirts of East Turkestan in the eighth century. In 784 CE they were conquered by the Tibetans and resettled in Ganzhou. In 809 CE they were conquered by the Chinese and sent to the region of Northern Ordos.²⁷

²² Minorsky, 302. See also: Ibn-el-Athiri, *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, 117; Vol. 13, 197; Ibnu'l-Esir, *Islam tarihi*, 155; Bartol'd, *Dvenadts' at' Lektsii*, 54; See also Agadzhanov, *Oçerki istori oguzov*, 127.

²³ See Tkachev, "Karakorum v XIII peke," 219–231; Minorsky, "Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey," 294–296.

²⁴ Arabic word "*Sikkah*" (plural *sikak*) is a stage equal to two *farsakhs*. One *farsakh* is equal to approximately 6 kilometers. Thus, three stages are equal to approx. thirty-six kilometers. See Minorsky, "Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey," 293, nt. 4.

²⁵ Minorsky, "Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey," 278–279, transl. 283.

²⁶ Minorsky, "Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey," 279–283.

²⁷ Minorsky, "Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey," 288, nt. 5; 297, nt. 4. Cf.: Minosky, tr., *Hudud al-'Alam*, 270, nt. 4.

The Shatuo Turks were also known as the creators of the last eastern states (on the territory of Northern China) founded by the Turkic-speaking people of Central Asia and called “Later Tang” (923 CE–936 CE).²⁸

Information about their migration within Inner Asia in from the eighth to early ninth century is also important for us to understand the changes of the ethnic map in all Central and Inner Asia. An important detail of this passage from al-Muttawwaʿi’s record is the “land of the Turks” south of the Orkhon Uyghurs. The polysemantic term “country” means some kind of compact group of Turkic-speaking peoples who were not politically dependent on the Uyghurs. If we consider Minorsky analysis that these are Shatuo Turks, then we can localize them as somewhere in Ganzhou, i.e. to the south of the Uyghur Khaganate and the upper chronological boundary should indicate the year 808 CE, i.e. the last year before their submission to the Chinese and further resettlement.

It is possible that the Ganzhou Shatuo Turks of the late eighth to early ninth century CE played a buffer role between the Uyghur Khaganate and Tibet. They were in a vassal relationship with them since 794 CE.²⁹ However, this requires dating al-Muttawwaʿi’s travel to the beginning of the ninth century CE and not to 821 CE, when the situation in Ganzhou was changed by the reorientation of the Shatuo Turks toward the Tang Empire and resettlement to more eastern regions. “Submission” to the Chinese after 809 CE should be understood in relation with their foreign policy, independent of the Tibetans and Uyghurs, which forced the Shatuo Turks to look for a more flexible, unobtrusive ally. Such a third force was Tang China, interested in protecting its western borders from barbarians by the hands of other barbarians.

Thus, the reason for resettlement of the Shatuo Turks from Ganzhou further east to the Yellow River is a sharp turn in the policy of the Shatuo Turks. This meant that they were unable to remain in their original region between the Tibetans and Uyghurs. It is interesting that in one place, when localizing the Lake Issyk Kul, instead of the term “south”, al-Muttawwaʿi uses the word “Tibet”. Minorsky correctly notes that the author does not mean Tibet itself, but the regions of Eastern Turkestan south of the the Tian-Shan mountains, which fell under the rule of the Tibetans in the first half of the ninth century CE.³⁰

Although the Uyghurs appeared united by the beginning of the ninth century CE, they still retained a strong clan-tribal structure. Al-Muttawwaʿi touches on this in his records. The Arabic explorer notes that he met the ruler of the Toquz Oghuz at his headquarters near the capital. His headquarters consisted of tents and an army

²⁸ Eberhard, *Çin tarihi*, 231; Maliāvkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 4, 22, 249; See also Maliāvkin, 14; 44; 199.

²⁹ Compare with the situation in the Turfan oasis of the same time: Maliāvkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 136–144; Kliāshstornyĭ, “Khunny i tūrki,” 147–152.

³⁰ Minorsky, “Tamīm ibn Bahr’s Journey,” 298.

(12,000 souls). He had seventeen leaders near him, who commanded 13,000 soldiers each.³¹

But why seventeen leaders? According to Chinese sources, the Uyghurs had nine clans in the middle of the eighth century: yo-lo-ko (yaglaqar); hu-tu-ko (hukurkar); tu(hu)-lo-vi (turlamvur / hurlamvur); mo-ko-si-ki (bukasyqyr); ha-wuche (avuchag); ko-sa (karsar or qasar); hu-woo-su ([x] ogh-orsuv, oghur-su?); yo-wu-ko (yagmurqar, yaghy-qar?); hi ye-wu (yamur).³² But nowhere in the sources are seventeen tribes mentioned.

The “Tang-shu” source talks about fifteen tribes from the Tiele (Teles/Tolish) confederation. It is important to note that Uyghurs were part of them, and the tribe of Ediz (a-ti) was also mentioned there.³³ Minorsky offers an interesting version of his interpretation. According to him during the heyday of Uyghur power, all related tribes along with the conquered Basmyls and Karluks (Qarluq) amounted to seventeen tribes (i.e., fifteen tribes from the Tolish confederation and two tribes from the above-mentioned ethnic groups).³⁴

Two circumstances are not taken into account here: First, the Toquz Oghuz confederation dispersed in the very initial period of the Uyghur Khaganate (mid-eighth century CE). Additionally Karluks and Basmyls eventually migrated from the eastern parts of the Turkic region westward and achieved political independence (the fate of Basmyls in Eastern Turkestan is connected with the constant struggle against the Tibetans and Uyghurs, and manoeuvring between them); and second, interfeudal conflict within the Uyghur Khaganate assumed an intertribal and interethnic character and led to significant changes in the ruling structure of the khaganate. (In 795 CE the power passed from the hands of the Uyghur tribe Yaglaqar into the hands of the Edizes.)³⁵

Thus, the traditional preservation of seventeen tribal military chiefs in the beginning of the ninth century CE is out of question due to the new ethnic and political situation which is totally different among the Toquz Oghuz of the Orkhon in the middle of eighth century CE. In our opinion, the seventeen leaders of troops at the headquarters of the Uyghur khagan is connected to the new internal political situation in the multi-ethnic Uyghur Khaganate at the beginning of the ninth century CE. This demonstrates that in more than half a century a new ethnic structure was established in the kha-

31 Minorsky, 281. Military posts were set up between each of the leaders (i.e., their military units), from which the ethnic army system of army management, traditional for medieval Turkic and Mongol states, is revealed.

32 Hamilton, *Ouighours a l'epoque des Cinq Dynasties*, 3–4, nt. 1; Bichurin, *Sobranie cvedenii o narodakh*, 308. It is difficult to judge to what extent genonym No. 8 here is like “yagma”, and No. 9 with “eimur”.

33 Hamilton, *Ouighours*, 1–2, nt. 2; Maliavkin, *Istoricheskaiâ geografiâ Tsentral'noi Azii*, 83–88.

34 Minorsky, “Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey,” 298, nt. 4.

35 Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 21.

ganate. The new structure is by no means comparable to the ethnopolitical system of the Uyghurs and their allies in 744 CE.

Edizes, incorporated into a related tribe under the leadership of the Yaglaqar tribe (some researchers are inclined to believe that Edizes and Uyghurs are completely different ethnic groups.³⁶ However, the Edizes were part of the Turkic-speaking people which was commonly referred to as “Uyghur” in the ninth century CE), during their reign in the late eighth to early ninth century CE, pursued a policy of unity, maintaining the closest relationship with seventeen tribes (if we include them in the khagan horde guarded by representatives of other clan troops).

This marked a new stage in the sociopolitical history of the early medieval Uyghur society in Inner Asia (i.e., in the eastern steppes of Central Asia.) The consanguineous principle of tribal-structure formation with the territorial one was already more closely intertwined, which led to certain intertribal assimilations: either enlargement or fragmentation of certain tribes and ethnic groups due to changes in territories within a single multiethnic state.³⁷

It is important to note that number seventeen is not the only large number in al-Muttawwaī's records that denotes the ethnopolitical structure of Uyghurs in the of the ninth century CE. By the year 921 CE, Tamim mentions nine Uyghur ministers who had met the Chinese princess at the khagan court. According to Chinese sources, fifteen Uyghur tribes moved westward, while the second group (thirteen tribes) migrated toward Ganzhou, etc.³⁸

This clearly demonstrates the rise and fall of the Uyghurs from the mid-eighth to mid-ninth century CE, as well as their ethno-political origins, associated not only with internal tribal unrest, but also with external factors, such as the desire for political independence of the Kyrgyz and Inner Asian Tatars. (It is quite possible that representatives of tribes from these two ethnic groups defended the interests of the Uyghur khagan as part of seventeen tribal military unit, since the Uyghur Khaganate explicitly was a multiethnic nomadic state.)³⁹

Minorsky managed to complete a detailed analysis of al-Muttawwaī's records after he read the full version of the text in the works of Ibn al-Faḥīh (Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faḥīh al-Hamadani), preserved in the famous Mashhad manuscript. One

³⁶ Maliāvkin, *Uġurskie gosudarstva*, 21–22.

³⁷ Chorotegin, *Ėtnicheskiye situatsii*.

³⁸ Maliāvkin, *Uġurskie gosudarstva*, 125–126; Tikhonov, *Khoxiāstvo*, 28–29.

³⁹ From the inscription of Sujin-davan (Northern Mongolia): “I, Yaglaqar Khan Ata, was a stranger in the Uyghur land. I am Qyrqyz. I am the Boila, High Judge.” See Kudaybergenov, *Orkhon-Enisey tekstleri*, 190–191. Compare with Kliāstornyi, “Sudzhinskaia nadpis’”, 59; Sertkaya, “‘Manas’ eposunun kelip chıgışı cönündö,” 3–8; Sertkaya, *Göktürk tarihinin meseleleri*, 338; Chorotegin, *Mahmud Kaşgari Barskaninin “Divanu lugati t-türk,”* 185–187.

of the important points found in the Mashhad manuscript of Ibn al-Faqih is related to the international ties of the khaganate: the khagan was married to the daughter of the Chinese emperor, and the latter sent him 500,000 silk cuts as a gift on annual basis.⁴⁰ The Chinese sources claim that their relationship irritated the Tibetan rulers.⁴¹

The Chinese historical (dynastic) chronicles with more or less exact dates shed light on the circumstances of how the Uyghur Khaganate were weakened and later dispersed in the tenth century CE. The sources discuss the crisis situation in the Uyghur state on the eve of its fall. Natural disasters and mass deaths of cattle also served as reasons for the fall of the khaganate. This was used by the northern neighbors of the khaganate, the Kyrgyz, who allied with separatist Uyghur tribes (and other ethnic groups of Inner Asia) to put an end to the last Uyghur Khaganate with the capital city in Orkhon.⁴²

Once the central power of the Uyghurs on Orkhon was defeated in 840 CE, with migrations of groups of the Eastern Turks in different directions, a new period began in the history of the Turkic peoples of Mongolia, Siberia, and all parts of Inner and Central Asia from the ninth to tenth century CE. “It was the finest hour (literally, the hour when they reached a Star) in Kyrgyz history,” the period rightly called by V. V. Barthold as the “The Great (Nomadic) Kyrgyz power”. In this era the Kyrgyz were able to subjugate the vast expanses of Asian steppes and influence the history of many peoples . . .,” writes Yuliy S. Khudyakov (1947–2021), a Russian archeologist and a leading Kyrgyz studies scholar.⁴³

If the scale of the migrations resulting from the events of 840 CE in Mongolia and Siberia recorded in Chinese chronicles⁴⁴ are underestimated in some research,⁴⁵ others go to the other extreme in determining the reasons these events led to the fall of the Uyghur Khaganate. For example, Lev N. Gumilyov discusses this topic by downplaying the importance of the Mongol conquests in the steppes of Central and Inner Asia: “Why are the Mongols attributed with the devastation of Asia, while other events of much

40 Minorsky, “Tamīm ibn Bahr’s Journey,” 279, 297–299. The researcher lists all known cases of marriages of Uyghur kagans to Chinese princesses. See also Validov, “Meshkhedskaiā rukopis’ Ibnū-l’Fakikha,” 237–248; Zhamkochian, “Ibn Al-Faqih. Akhbar Al-Buldan (“Izvestiia o stranakh”),” 4–7; Choroev, “Musul’manskie avtory,” 202–206.

41 Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 143 (Excerpt from the conversation of the Tibetan high dignitaries with the Chinese ambassador, who arrived in Tibet in 822.). See also Vorob’eva-Desiatovskaia, “Tibetsy,” 164–165, 192–193.

42 Khudiakov, *Boennoe delo Kirgizov Tsentral’noi Azii*; Kojobekov, *Kirgiz kaganatı tarihi*; Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 127, 153, 154; Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie eniseiskikh kyrgyzov*, 155–157.

43 Khudiakov, *Kirgizi na Tabate*, 62–63; Khudiakov, *Kirgizi na prostorakh Azii*, 3.

44 Abdikerim uulu and Oyingova, *Hanzu tarihiy cazmalaryndağı kirgizdar*.

45 So, according to Leonid R. Kyzlasov, the penetrations and migrations of groups of the Kyrgyz to the south–west from Siberia and Mongolia were only military campaigns. See Kyzlasov, “Tiurkhtyatskaiā kul’tura drevnikh khakasov (IX–X vv.),” 58–143 (here, the illustration of the paper was placed at the end of the collective book). See: https://www.archaeolog.ru/media/books_arch_ussr/ArchaeologyUSSR.01.pdf, accessed 02 September 2022.

larger scale, such as the the defeat of the Uyghurs by the Kyrgyz in 841 CE–846 CE or the total extermination of Kalmyks by the Manchu Emperor Qianlong in 1756–1758, remain unnoticed by historians”.⁴⁶

Turkish historian Faruk Sümer made a similar groundless statement. Although he rightly points out that the Kyrgyz under the Blue Turks lived in the Minusinsk basin behind Mount Koegmen (Tannu-Ola), their ruler bore the title of “khagan”, and under the Second East Turkic Khaganate, the Kyrgyz had a strong influence that also continued under the Uyghur Khaganate. However, when discussing the conquest of the Kyrgyz in the Orkhon area, the author writes: “However the Kyrgyz being a tribe *without high culture* [emphasis author of this chapter] played a negative role in the history of the Turks by destroying the Turkic culture in the Orkhon region”. He continues that the Kyrgyz, who were defeated in the first half of the tenth century CE by the Khitans, thus “allowed” (*müsebbib*) for this ancient Turkic homeland to be taken over by the Mongol-speaking tribes.⁴⁷

It is not difficult to notice the exaggeration of the negative role of the Kyrgyz (“without high culture”) in the fall of the Uyghur state on Orkhon. Moreover, history shows that the very appearance of the Uyghur Khaganate was accompanied by its internal political fragmentation, death and partial relocations of all anti-Uyghur forces. Nevertheless, the Uyghurs have preserved and continued to enrich the common cultural treasury of their political predecessors.

The same applies to the Kyrgyz in Siberia and Inner Asia, who were also equal bearers of the high Orkhon-Yenisei written culture of the early Middle Ages. In particular, they developed the Yenisei runic script in the heyday of their political power in the ninth and tenth centuries CE. These writings were used in the vast region that included Altai, Irtysh, Baikal and the lands of the former Uyghur Khaganate.⁴⁸ Igor V. Kormushin’s point of view on the dating of the Talas runic inscriptions (Northern Kyrgyzstan) in connection with the conquest of the Kyrgyz in the tenth century CE to Tian-Shan is fascinating. Kyrgyz scholar Kubat Tabaldyev, et. al., found some more texts in runic-style script in the Kochkor and Issyk Kul valleys in the 1990–2000s.⁴⁹

The idea that Kyrgyz and other Turks fully abandoned the Orkhon region is as unhistorical as the sighs of some former Chinese falsifiers about the allegedly “lost historical lands”.⁵⁰ Some Kyrgyz groups remaining in Mongolia formed small tribes

⁴⁶ Gumilev, “Mesto istroicheskoi geografii v vostokovednykh issledovaniyakh,” 90. (For criticism of his statement, see: Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 23–24.)

⁴⁷ Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 9.

⁴⁸ Kyzlasov, “Drevnekhakasskie nadpisi,” 51–63; Savinov, “Formirovanie i razvitie rannesrednevekovykh,” 49–52; Kara uulu, *Köönö türkötör tarıxı*, 8–9.

⁴⁹ Kormushin, “K osnovnym poniatiām türkskoī runicheskoi paleografii,” 38–47; Dzhumagulov, *Epigrafika Kirgizii*, 8–20. See also Kiselev, *Drevniāia istoriā Ūjnoī Sibiri*, 610–614; Tabaldyev, *Drevnie pamiatniki Tian-Shaniā*.

⁵⁰ See Sushanlo, Gurevich, Ploskikh and Suprunenko, *Protiv maoistskikh fal’sifikatsiī istorii Kirgizii*.

of Khara-Khirgis, Shara-Khirgis and Moedoen-Khirgis among the twentieth-century Khalkha Mongols.⁵¹ There are Turkic speaking Tuvans, Kazakhs and bilingual Khotons in some western and northwest parts of modern Mongolia.

What were the real consequences of events of the 840s CE on Orkhon? First of all, this concerns the ethnic history of the Turkic-speaking peoples of the eastern part of Central Asia (Inner Asia) and Siberia.

Yuliy S. Khudyakov states this:

Events of the ninth–tenth centuries in Central Asia, where Kyrgyz were active participants changed the traditional line of ethnic history in this region, scattered the Uyghurs from Eastern Kazakhstan to Khangai, contributed to the consolidation of the Kimak-Kipchak unification, opened the way to Tian-Shan for the Kyrgyz and became a prelude for Mongolian-speaking nomads to enter the world history arena.⁵²

Kyrgyz historian Omurkul Karaev (1930–2002) studied Arab and Persian historical and geographical works from the ninth to thirteenth century CE on the Kyrgyz in more detail. He concludes that a Kyrgyz group already existed in the Tian-Shan territory starting from the period described by Barthold as, “The Kyrgyz super power” (the middle of ninth century CE).⁵³

As a result of the conquest, the Kyrgyz subjugated not only Tian-Shan on the west,⁵⁴ but also other adjacent territories: the Upper Ob region, including mountainous Altai (in the west and northwest),⁵⁵ Baikal and former Uyghur territories in Mongolia.⁵⁶ The Uyghur migrations in Inner Asia in a period after the events of the 840s CE are analyzed in a monograph by the prominent Russian Sinologist Anatoly G. Malyavkin.⁵⁷ For the first time in Russian historiography, research openly revealed almost all of the main groups of early medieval Uyghurs in the second half of the ninth century CE by comparing different fragmentary information from the Medieval Chinese sources. His findings on the most south-eastern compact group of Uyghurs, the Helochuan (Etsin-Gol) Uyghurs, is extremely important.⁵⁸

51 Mongol ard ulsyn ugsaatny sudlal. Khelnii shinjleliin atlas. Terguun, ded boti.

52 Khudiakov, *Kirgizī na Tabate*, 63; Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie eniseiskikh kyrgyzov*, figure 10. See also: Butanaev and Khudiakov, *Istoriia eniseiskikh kyrgyzov*; Butanaev and Butaneva, *Ene-Say Kirgizdari*.

53 Karaev, *Arabskie i persidskie istochniki IX–XII vn.*

54 Bernshtam, *Istoriko-arkheologicheskie ocherki*, 94; Stepi Evrazii, 143 (note: this illustration in the collective book belongs to article by Kyzlasov. The illustrations of all the authors were published after conclusion there). See https://www.archaeolog.ru/media/books_arch_ussr/ArchaeologyUSSR_01.pdf, accessed 02 September 2022; Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoī SSR*, 431.

55 Neverov, “Istoriia plemen Srostkinskoī kul’turī,” 18–19; Savinov, “Formirovanie,” 26.

56 For Baikal, see Khudiakov, *Kirgizī na enisee*, 55; See also Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral’noaziat-skikh kochevnikov*, 24. For former Uyghur territories, see Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 101–102, 108–111; See also Urstanbekov and Çoroev, *Kirgiz tarihi*, 106, 122, 190; Chorotegin, *Mahmud Kaşgari*.

57 Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 108–111.

58 Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 101–115. On the Qatun–Syny Turks, see Chorotegin, *Mahmud Kaşgari*, 212–222.

This group of Uyghurs who stayed in territories close to the borders (steppe north of the great bend of the Yellow River and partly Tian-Shan) of the Tang Empire after the events of 840 CE proved to be a serious threat to the “Celestial Empire”. The Tang state played a double game with these Uyghurs and Kyrgyz. With the incitement of the Tang Empire, the Kyrgyz continued their aggression in 843 CE–844 CE against the Etsin-Gol Uyghurs, forcing them to leave the territory.⁵⁹

In 875 CE the latter returned to Etsin-Gol (from where it is unknown). *The Chronicle of the Song State* (960 CE–1279 CE), the *History of Song*, contains the latest dating information about these Uyghurs known to modern Sinologists (early 1980s). This source refers to an embassy of four Etsin-Gol Uyghur tribes in the fourth year of Yongxi rule (February 1, 987 CE–January 21, 988 CE).⁶⁰

There is no specific information about these groups of Uyghurs in the Arabic-script sources; hence, it is difficult to determine their fate. Their most probable fate could be similar to one of the Shatuo Turks,⁶¹ i.e., assimilation within the non-Turkic (Tangut, Khitan, Mongolian and Chinese) ethnic groups as a result of political events from the eleventh to late thirteenth century CE, in eastern parts of Central Asia and North China. Some of them might be ancestors of the modern Saryg-Uyghurs in China.

Other important questions relate to the nature and scale of Uyghur groups' pervasion to the western direction. Here Malyavkin has an original concept: the defeat of the Uyghur Khaganate forced Uyghurs to move west, south and east is a historical fact. However, Malyavkin believed that those who migrated to the Turfan oasis were not Uyghurs themselves.

Malyavkin, in his monograph (1983), considers “Uyghurs” only as the Uyghur tribe led by the Yaghlaqar, who ruled during the first half of the Uyghur Khaganate. Whereas the Tiele tribes, who were part of the confederation of Turkic tribes of the Uyghur Khaganate, seized the Turfan oasis and other adjacent territories in 866 CE without the Uyghurs themselves.

The author uses the term “Tiele tribes” or “Toquz Oghuzes” to describe this group. For Malyavkin, one of the compelling reasons for rejecting the term “Uyghur” is “the extremely wide and not-always-justified use of the ethnonym” *Huihu* (Uyghur) by Chinese historians.⁶² The starting point for such a view was the concept of Colin Mackerras, who states that the accession to power of Edizes, not the Yaghlaqar, in the Uyghur

⁵⁹ Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 110–111.

⁶⁰ Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 102, 111; Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie eniseiskikh kyrgyzov* 157–161.

⁶¹ Kriukov, Malyavin and Sofronov, *Kitaiskii étnos*, 21, 23, 24, 35; Shan, *Ocherki istorii Kitaia*, 253, 259, 265, 267; Czhaoh Khun, *Men-da Bei-lu: “Polnoe opisanie mongolo-tatar*, 45, 91–92 (note 3), 93 (note 8); Eberhard, *Çin Tarihi*, 217, 231–232.

⁶² See Maliavkin, *Uigurskie gosudarstva*, 119–120.

Khaganate at the end of the eighth century CE was considered to be the beginning of a new dynasty.⁶³

After studying the Arabic-Persian sources of the ninth to thirteenth century CE, we assume that the use of the term “Uyghur” in relation to the newly arrived Turkic-speaking groups of the Turfan oasis in the ninth century CE seems to be correct. This is not only in view of the “extremely widespread and not-always-justified use” of the term “Toquzguz” in Muslim literature but, most importantly, in connection with the Uyghur texts of Buddhist and Manichean content from the Turfan region (ninth and tenth centuries CE), and the records of the Sujijn-Davan inscription in Kyrgyz language in runic-style script (first half of the ninth century CE), as well as the records of the Turkic ethnologist Mahmud Kashghari Barsqani (eleventh century CE), in which the ethnonym “Uyghur” is used to describe the main population of Turfan.⁶⁴

Notions asserting that after 840 CE the Uyghurs moved to the Central Tian-Shan region and participated in the formation of the Karakhanid Khaganate as a leading ethnic group is of no value as well. If such statements from the majority of Orientalists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (V. V. Radlov, et al.) were associated with the scarcity of sources, today this is due to the condescending attitude toward complex authoritative sources, including the *Kitab diwan lughat al-Turk*, the unique dictionary by Mahmud Kashghari Barsqani (written in Arabic in 1072 CE–1077 CE).⁶⁵

Authors seeking to embellish the history of medieval Turfan Uyghurs do not take into account that a number of Turkic peoples participated in the ethnogenesis of modern Uyghurs:⁶⁶ Yaghma, Karluks, Kenjeks, Kyrgyz, and other Tian-Shan and Tarim Basin peoples and tribes (along with the Uyghurs of Turfan and Turkified Tokhars, Soghdians and western Chinese representatives). The historical significance of the rise and defeat of the Uyghur Khaganate (744 CE to 840 CE) and the movements of the Inner and Central Asian Turks in the ninth century CE are obvious and help to understand the effect on the fate of other Turkic-speaking peoples of the steppes.

This issue requires a special study on the basis of a more detailed analysis of parallel materials (written, ethnographic, epigraphic, archeological, etc.), but we can conclude even today that the Inner Asian and Siberian push of the Turkic nomads in the middle of the eighth and ninth centuries CE significantly factored in the relatively synchronous movements of a number of nomadic peoples:

- Kyrgyz pressure on the Kimak pushed the Kimak-Kipchak migration from the Irtysh region to the west in the second half of the ninth and early tenth centuries CE;

⁶³ Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire (744–840)*, 10, 97, 107, 157; Maliāvkin, *Istoricheskaiā geografiā*, 86–87. See also <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/114690/2/b11093456.pdf>, accessed 02 September 2022.

⁶⁴ See Tikhonov, *Khoxiāistvo*, 24–25; Kudaybergenov, *Orkhon-Enisey tekstteri*, 190–191; Mahmud al-Kashgari, *Kitab diwan lughat al-Turk*, T. 1.–5, 30–31; Hamilton, *Toquz-oyuz*, 39.

⁶⁵ Kashgari, *Kitab diwan lughat al-Turk*.

⁶⁶ Chorotegin, *Mahmud Kashgari*, 189–206.

- The arrival of a part of the Orkhon Uyghurs and Yenisei Kyrgyz to Eastern Tian-Shan pushed the local Turkic population of Eastern Turkestan to migrate toward the western parts of Central Asia;
- The local migration of Karluks in Central Asia and the relocation of Khalajs from Western Tian-Shan to the southwest;
- The departure of part of Syr-Darya Oghuzes farther west (until they reached, eventually, the Middle East and Asia Minor); the pressure of Kipchaks and Oghuzes on Pechenegs and their migration toward the Khazar Khaganate (the Lower Volga and the Black Sea region), who had already survived a period of interfeudal unrest.

This factor was also a great importance for the migration of the Volga Basin Hungarians toward areas in Central Europe.

Thus, the displacement of a number of Turkic ethnic groups by the Uyghurs from Orkhon and part of Altai in the middle of the eighth century CE, the continuous war in Inner Asia at the beginning and middle of the ninth century CE and migration of Kyrgyz, Uyghurs and other Inner Asian and Siberian Turkic peoples are the key events in the ethnic and political history of the Great Steppe of the nomadic peoples of Central and Inner Asia and their settled neighbours in the eighth to tenth century CE.⁶⁷

The change of the ethnic situations in the inter-connected regions also opened a new page in the ethnic history of Eastern Europe, and Central and Inner Asia, including the history of ethnic movements and cultural adjustments in the vast expanses of the steppe region. In particular, the local Turkic-speaking component of diverse population in the western part of the mountainous and steppe areas of Central Asia, Volga region and in the Caucasus increased due to the influx of heterogeneous groups of Turkic ethnic groups from Inner Asia (i.e. the eastern part of all Central Asia, South Siberia and Altai).⁶⁸ It is quite natural that the Turkic migrations affected the ethnic situation of other non-Turkic groups in the vast multiethnic regions, from Eastern Europe to Central and Inner Asia. The Turkic groups also found themselves in the orbit of various religions and centers of civilization from Northern China to Asia Minor and the Balkan Mountains.

⁶⁷ Chorotegin, *Ėtnicheskiye situatsii*; Chorotegin, *Mahmud Kaşgari*. See also Tchoroev, "Historiography of Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan," 351–374. Tyntchtykbek Tchoroev, "The Kyrgyz," 109–125; Tchoroev, "The Early Stages of Kyrgyz Ethnicity," 33–60; etc.

⁶⁸ It is very remarkable that such Russian scientific centers such as Altai State University (Barnaul city) and Gorno-Altai State University (Gorno-Altaysk city), together with other Russian, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Uzbek, Azerbaijani, Turkish, Chinese, Mongolian and other scientific centers and universities, have been studying the general problems of the Greater Altai, including ethnogenetic, ethnocultural and migratory aspects of the ancient and medieval Turks, Mongols and other peoples, since 2019. The First International Altai Forum entitled "Turkic–Mongolian World of Big Altai: Historical and Cultural Heritage and the Present," was held on September 12–14, 2019. Hopefully, the recent Russian war against Ukraine (since 24 February 2022) does not become an obstacle to these pure scholarly international cooperation between historians. See also: "Bol'shoi Altai," accessed 02 September 2022, <https://bolshoy-altay.asu.ru/>.

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Daniel Prior

Horse Racing as Heroic Sport in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Qırǵız Epic Poetry

At ayar ayaş bolsoçu?

*Ton ayar ayaş bolsoçu?*¹

Sport is a theme ripe for development in heroic epic poetry. The outcomes of heroes' contests of strength and prowess in the arena may have every bit as much consequence for their honor as do their exploits in war and policy. The Achaeans' memorial games for Patroclus, presided over by Achilles and culminating in a chariot race, are the best-known instance of a narrative treatment of sports played by heroes. Beside the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, the Qırǵız epic poem *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan* deserves to be recognized as a *locus classicus* of heroic sport.² With respect to the narrative criteria of wholeness of plot, heroic characterization, moral complexity, and political significance within the epic world, the Qırǵız epic excels even Homer's handling of the subject. On this score, having left even the *Iliad* behind, the Qırǵız epic hardly bears comparison with other Turkic epics. In *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*, the games are not merely competitive, commemorative and ritual; upon their athletic outcomes and, even more importantly, upon the successful presidency of the events as a whole hangs the future of the epic world's ethnoreligious and geopolitical order. The epic's complex plot revolves, if only implicitly, around the issue of which hero has control over the organization and running of the horse race and the allocation of prizes. The race itself is exciting enough; the horses and their jockeys are put through strenuous paces. But Qırǵız epic audiences invested little plot significance in the matter of whose horse won the contest itself. Horse racing was a sport where disturbances and gross interference at the finish were all too common. The truly heroic role was that of president, the guarantor of an order becoming of serious competition. Illuminating this role requires a historically grounded, genre-sensitive analysis of heroic characterizations and narrative structures in multiple examples.

1 "Almambet, Er Kökčö and Ak Erkeč," in Hatto, *The Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, 13–47 (here lines 1018–1019). Professor Ilse Laude–Cirtautas was the first scholar with whom I discussed, in 1993, the epic poems examined in this chapter. I remember with gratitude the part she played in getting me started in my studies of Turkic languages and cultures. I presented a version of this essay as a paper at the 61st annual meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, 27 August 2018.

2 See Hatto, "Das Pferd in der älteren kirghisischen Heldenepik und in der Ilias (Ein Vergleich)," 179–201.

The plot of *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan* explores the question of who would preside and officiate at a solemn sporting event. Since the horse race was the most important contest, the hero who organized and directed it was equivalent to the president over the grand memorial feast and games as a whole, and the president's most important prerogative was to plan out the course of the horse race. Presidency over the feast in this poem, in turn, came to stand for heroic supremacy in the Qırğız epic tradition. At least this was the case in some versions of the plot. Variations in different texts point to changes over time in the tradition and in Qırğız society.

Historical analysis of treatments of the presidency issue in different versions of *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan* (*Kōkötöydün aşı*) reveals changes in the heroic characterization and plot structure in the Qırğız (Kirghiz, Kyrgyz) epic tradition. In the hands of the bards and the discerning patrons and audiences who were equally responsible for the tradition, a deceptively discursive epic plot full of spectacle and entertainment reached highly consequential development. The weighty articulation of narrative structure with heroic ethos and characterization became a site where successive generations of bards tailored parts of the story to the tastes of their audiences. The changes in plot and characterization from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s amount to a transition from a heroic to a post-heroic phase in the tradition.³

Different versions of *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan* (abbreviated *MK* below) bear witness to variations in the Qırğız oral epic bards' handling of the plot. The three earliest texts, the most important for historical analysis, were all taken down in writing from oral performances spanning the pre-Tsarist to the early Soviet period: by the bard Nazar Bolot (d. 1893), recorded in 1856 by Chokan Valikhanov east of Lake Issyk Kul (abbreviated *MKNB* below, 3,251 lines); by an anonymous bard, recorded in 1862 by Wilhelm Radloff, probably in the Chu valley (*MKWR*, 2,197 lines); and by the bard Sağımbay Orozbaq uulu (1867–1930), recorded in 1925 by İbrayım Abdırakhmanov and others, probably in the Central Tian Shan mountains (*MKso*, 13,595 lines).⁴

The three texts of the *MK* epic can open perspectives on matters of Qırğız culture that may be clearer than those obtained through the normal window of ethnography. Conversely, close ethnographic explications of the details of sportive incidents in the epics can have significant bearing on the interpretation of the narrative designs of the

3 I have remarked elsewhere on these historical processes: Prior, *Patron, Party, Patrimony*; Prior, *The Twilight Age of the Kirghiz Epic Tradition*; Prior, "Sparks and Embers of the Kirghiz Epic Tradition"; Prior, "Sino-Mongolica in the Qırğız Epic Poem Kōkötöy's Memorial Feast by Sağımbay Orozbaq uulu"; Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*. See also Hatto, *The Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, ix–xvi.

4 *MKNB*: Hatto, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy-Khan (Kōkötöydün Aşı): A Kirghiz*; *MKWR*: I, 4) "Bok-murun," in Hatto, *The Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, 159–225; *MKso*: Sağımbay, *Manas. Kyrgyz élinin baatyrdyk éposu*, 10–194, and Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*. See also Hatto, "Kukotay and Bok Murun," Prior, *The Twilight Age of the Kirghiz Epic Tradition*, 60–62, 122–139.

three oral poets.⁵ This essay examines only the grand memorial feast and its horse race, which in some versions of the epic are preceded by lesser feasts and games at the burial and on the fortieth day after Kōkötöy's death.

Though different, the plots of all three versions follow a common thread of action: The Muslim khan Kōkötöy dies, and his orphan son Boqmurun calls for lavish observances with horse racing. A year after the burial (or three years, with epic exaggeration, in Sağımbay's version), Boqmurun moves all his people and herds to the appointed feasting ground. The invited chiefs arrive with their race-horses and their soldiers and men-at-arms. The paramount hero of the Muslims, Manas, dominates the feast and games. The Muslims argue and fight with their infidel Qıtay and Qalmaq counterparts,⁶ but the program of sporting contests keeps them mostly at peace. The violent finish of the climactic horse race results in the infidels mounting a raid to seize the top prize-herds, which had been won by the Muslims' racers. The Muslims counterattack and defeat the infidels. By the end of the epic, Manas's political supremacy over the Muslim heroes and his martial predominance over the infidels have become explicit; Boqmurun has disappeared from the scene.

Lively images abound of all kinds of horses and the ways that heroes value and covet them. In the nineteenth-century versions, appraisers and spies on each side try to size up their competition and compare notes. There are so many animals from far and wide that the people who need to know find it difficult to match racers with their owners, as described in *MKWR*:

Judges of horseflesh came and made their judgments, critics came and made their appraisals. And when the critics had made their appraisals, they said, reviewing the runners:

"[. . .] With ears of a full-grown mountain ram and flanks of a roe buck, that spirited roan – whose is he? With his gut as thin as a needle, that scraggy roan – whose is he? Like a scraped goat-leather thong, that stately roan horse – whose is he? With his croup as broad as a mattock – his torso that would almost *cut* like a mattock! – that politic roan – whose is he? Thrusting out his jowl as he champs, arching his neck like a leading-goat, that high-chested roan – whose is he? [. . .]"⁷

5 On Qırğız memorial feasting and horse racing see the section "Memorial Feasts" in Prior, "Introduction to a Reading of the Tradition," in Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*, 271–273; Jacquesson, "Le cheval dans le rituel funéraire kīrgīz": 383–414; Jacquesson, "The Sore Zones of Identity": 281–303; Ferret, "Course à la mort ou quête de respectabilité": 129–148.

6 The main division of humanity in the world of the heroes was between the Muslims, implicitly Turkic (in the nineteenth century, the illustrious heroes were explicitly members of the Noğoy tribe; in Sağımbay's twentieth-century version, this ethnic identity is replaced with *Qırğız* and *Uğuz*) and their enemies the infidels, named as Qıtay (Chinese) and Qalmaq (Oirat Mongols).

7 *MKWR* 623–626, 642–653 (sources of quotations are cited with the abbreviations for the texts and the line numbers of specific passages). To conserve space, the Qırğız original text of quoted passages is omitted. The prose translations of verses in *MKNB* and *MKWR* are cited according to Hatto's editions, unless otherwise noted; those of verses in *MKSo* are mine, cited according to Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*.

These questions go on for nearly fifty lines; the anonymous bard's audience is perhaps to imagine a press of gawkers talking among themselves. In *MKNB*, the questions receive answers, as in this exchange between two heroes:

"Elder of the people, warrior Er Koşoy, father! – that steed whose voice is like the woodland night-
ingale's, whose coat is black as charcoal, that wise black steed – whose is it?"

"He is a knowing beast, a wise black! Half way round the course and thinking 'I have gone lame!' he
will come home on his two hind legs! He is Er Ürbü's knowing black steed!"⁸

Two steeds in *MK* are favored above all the rest. Manas's entry in the horse race is Aq-qula 'Light Gray' (the names that heroes give to their steeds are almost always purely descriptive). The bard Nazar Bolot describes him in the earliest recorded version of the epic, in a hero's words:

"Saddled with a golden saddle, crested like the rutting deer, his hooves large as hearths, his ears like
cut reeds, his head an arsheen long, on his one flank Ak-kula has twenty wings, on the other twenty
more! The coat on his back is dragonish! – Such is Er Manas's steed! Will he not take the lead from
all these other horses?"⁹

In *MKso*, the latest poem of the three, Sağimbay describes the precise preparation that went into Aq-qula's conditioning for the race:

The hero's horse Aq-qula lean of rib, that choice *tulpar* Aq-qula,¹⁰ was trained and ready and full of
fire, nose-up like a roe-deer and agitated, longing to gallop. He now had fat for half a day's running
on him; it was but a matter of bringing him to a lather once more and he would come into his full
stride. The great horse Qula was lean and in peak condition.¹¹

In *MKNB*, Boqmurun's herald Jaş Aydar mounts Boqmurun's horse Maani-ker ('Knowing
Dark-bay') to assist with the management of the pack of two thousand eighty entrants
in the race. Jaş Aydar requires a crash course from Boqmurun in riding such a superior
beast:

"Jaş-aydar of the flowing forelock, Companion! When Maniker on whom you sit has run his course
for the space of six months he will be trained six times over, and when he has run it for the space
of seven he will be trained for a year. As to Maniker on whom you sit, I never yet learned all
his qualities, never got to know his secret powers. When, time past, we were racing over toward
Samarkand, at Sari-khan's Feast, one horse went ahead of a thousand, Companion . . . ! Now when
you return this way, come on, but do not give Maniker the reins! For were you to do so, he would
arrive back three days ahead of the others and win a race with himself!"¹²

⁸ *MKNB* 1397–1405.

⁹ *MKNB* 1425–1435.

¹⁰ A *tulpar* in Turkic traditions is a magic, winged horse.

¹¹ *MKso* 7015–7025 (Sağimbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*, 128).

¹² *MKNB* 1606–1624.

In *MKso*, before the day of the race, the Qalmaq hero Joloy Khan, stunned by the magnificent sight of Maani-ker, goes into a reverie that is partly a fit of jealousy:

“Are the insignificant Buruts,¹³ a nation of only a handful of tents, a horse-racing folk? Are there really such *tulpars* as these to be found among the Muslims? Apparently they do race horses; never mind the other Muslims, apparently the Buruts have raised this *tulpar*! Hooves of pure iron – that is a definite mark of a *tulpar*! Mane and tail-hairs like lance-tassels – if you look at his muzzle, it’s like a marten-trap! His croup high as a rammed-earth house – if you look at his ears, they are like the flames on large shrine-candles! Wild game on the ridges could get a head-start at the sound of his hoof-beats below on the steppe, and still not outdistance him! He’s not one to thirst on a forty-day course; it would be a sin to tether that one – no need to hobble him at pasture! Race that one with proper training and the wind-spirits couldn’t outdistance him! He sinks in the ground up to his fetlocks; jutting his chest like a stag’s, stretching his croup, he flashes his eyes like a mountain ram’s! Shanks like hewn beams, ears shaped like parrots perched in a garden – if a brave man raced him forty days and nights, that horse’s spirits would only rise, all would be well!”¹⁴

The finish of the horse race was a piece of gripping narration in any era in the epic tradition. In *MKso*, Sağımbay describes the appearance of the front of the pack of finishers urged on by the non-contestants who were allowed to ride out and drive or pull their favorites to the finish line:

As [the Qıtay khan] Qongurbay watched he saw thick dust rising over Qoroghotu and Qosh-köl, and then the haulers-in became visible at Suuq-döbö. The horses, rimy with salt and trailing steam, came on amid the noisy clamor of shouting. In front was Ach-buudan [‘Swift Racer’, Joloy’s horse], behind him Chal-quyruq [‘Grizzle Tail’, belonging to Töshtük]. Going downhill Chal-quyruq outstripped him bounding like a roe-deer; on the uphill Ach-buudan – the cursed temperament of that racer! – took the lead. Behind those two, bruised and blistered, [Manas’s Aq-] Qula was now catching up, his beating hooves sinking pastern-deep in the ground, his chest jutting like a stag’s.¹⁵

As exciting as the racing was, the serious business underlying it pervaded the bard’s characterizations in the action. Sağımbay wryly imagines that a jockey–trainer, unwilling to take himself to task for losing, finds his horse’s owner an easy focus of shifted blame:

[N]ext came Kōkchō’s horse Kōk-ala ridden by a sly jockey with tears streaming from his eyes. He fancied himself a horse-trainer. For Kōkötöy’s memorial feast he had kept Kōk-ala [‘Gray Dapple’] to an intensive regimen and got him too lean; but, too clever by half, this jockey was thinking, “I trained him too hard – I took Kōkchō’s advice and am the worse off for it!”¹⁶

The heroes’ love for their race-horses was fraught with matters of honor and glory, but one hero had to lay down even higher personal stakes. The issue of who would preside over the feast and games was of the highest importance and arose in the earliest stages of planning.

¹³ *Burut* is the name that the Qalmaqs and Qıtays used to refer to the Qırğız.

¹⁴ *MKso* 5989–6022 (Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*, 111).

¹⁵ *MKso* 12148–12166 (Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*, 214).

¹⁶ *MKso* 12094–12105 (Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*, 213).

The cultures of Central Asian Turkic nomads provided for different potential claims to decide who would preside over the feast and games.¹⁷ The part could fall to the eldest and most esteemed member of the host's people, and indeed there is discussion in the three poems of such a figure, the old khan Qoşoy, assuming the role. Or, specifically in the context of a memorial feast, the heir himself had a rather obvious claim, though it did not automatically gain him acclamation to preside over the games.¹⁸ In the nineteenth-century poems there seem to be some traces of Boqmurun's claim, though it is not realized in the texts we have, which instead describe a third variant. That was for a recognized strongman to keep order by force and threats of force. As trouble was anticipated among the Muslim and infidel heroes at Kōkötōy's memorial feast (a notorious scene of scandals), Manas was evidently well positioned to preside over the gathering. However, the subtle cross purposes of the heir Boqmurun and the paramount hero Manas clashed beneath the level of the plots as expressed, complicating their structures. There are four stages in the narratives where the presidency issue can be seen most clearly: in the initial planning and the arrival of the heroes at the feast; in the incident of an infidel khan's demand to be presented with Boqmurun's prized horse Maani-ker; in the matters of who plots the race course, announces the events, and posts the prizes; and in the climactic hostilities where the Muslims recover the prize-herds that have been stolen by the infidels.

All three of our texts – Nazar Bolot's and that of Radloff's anonymous bard from the mid-nineteenth century, and Sagımbay's from 1925 – pay close attention to the details of what was said and done in the lead-up to Manas's taking control over the proceedings. In *MKNB*, the idea to have Manas preside over the feast comes from Kōkötōy himself before his death.¹⁹ Boqmurun, however, makes his own plans, contradicting the idea of submitting to Manas.²⁰ His policy and planning earn him elevation as khan.²¹ Boqmurun's invitations to a long catalog of heroes include one to the holy man Ay-qojo, with a request that Ay-qojo preside over the feast, but the absence of this figure from

17 Works of ethnography, however, are silent on the considerations outlined below. E.g., Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," 372; Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, 314–319; Fiel'strup, *Iz obriadovoi zhizni kirgizov nachala XX veka*, 139–168; Simakov, *Obshchestvennye funktsii kirgizskikh narodnykh razvlechenii v kontse XIX–nachale XX v.*, 138–145.

18 "The heir," singular, is an analytic convenience permitted by the simple *dramatis personae* of this particular epic, where Boqmurun is an only son. Problems surrounding questions of succession were common in steppe societies, where brothers and sons of the deceased leader contended with each other backed by a diversity of traditionally defined claims, which themselves could be twisted to emergent purposes. The history of the Mongol imperial family in the thirteenth century provides historical examples: *The Secret History of the Mongols*, §§ 242f., 254f. See also the section "Fundamentals of the Plot" in Prior, "Introduction to a Reading of the Tradition," in Sagımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötōy Khan*, 261–267.

19 *MKNB* 137–157.

20 *MKNB* 254–264.

21 *MKNB* 373–381.

the rest of the story suggests that this was a courtesy to a religious patron with the revered status of *khoja*.²² Manas arrives at the feast annoyed at Boqmurun, who assuages Manas's anger with gifts and polite words; soon Manas flies into a rage at the ill-mannered Qalmaqs, and subdues them with violence.²³ Manas's ability to exert force to restrain others at the peaceable gathering seems to suggest that his path to assuming the presidency lay open from the start, despite Boqmurun's attempts to act in his own interests. In *MKWR*, Boqmurun plans the feast himself and invites Manas, who becomes an even worse menace to Boqmurun than in *MKNB*. Manas receives the invitation itself as an insolent affront, has Boqmurun's herald murdered, and exhorts his Forty Companions, "*Let us profane his Memorial Feast!*"²⁴ In this version as well, as soon as Manas arrives, he goes into action to put down a commotion.²⁵ In *MKso*, however, the bard Sağımbay from the very start deeply overshadows Boqmurun's prospects for presiding over the feast with the looming presence of Manas. In a prologue, Sağımbay recalls a past encounter between Kōkötöy and Manas that inspired Manas's intention to put on the older khan's memorial feast when the time came.²⁶ Sağımbay displays a narrative innovation by having Boqmurun travel to Manas to ask for his advice on the planning,²⁷ and repeatedly refers to Manas as Boqmurun's choice as president. From the moment of his arrival at the feast, Manas acts as if he is in charge, or at least first among equals along with Qoşoy. Manas directs the digging of the hearth-pits for cooking the meat for the feast, and warns Boqmurun, "do not be offended with me tomorrow, or I'll bring torments down upon your memorial feast and rob your encampment! I'll rain suffering upon your feast and sack your tribe!"²⁸

Heroes' horses, their means of achieving glory in sport and war, were bound up with thorny matters of honor and etiquette when the heroes faced problems over the disposition of this most highly prized kind of property. Thus in *MK* an infidel khan's demand that Boqmurun bestow Maani-ker on him as a gift of honor, by right of his status, provokes a serious incident. In *MKNB* Nazar Bolot narrates how Manas's ally Qoşoy says it is Manas's decision whether to comply with the infidel khan Nezqara's demand.²⁹ At Manas's mere threat to punish Nezqara for his arrogance, the infidels "lost all hope of ever getting Maniker" and obsequiously ask Manas to direct the feast and games, including the horse race.³⁰ In *MKWR* by Radloff's anonymous bard, it is the Qıtay khan Qonurbay who demands Maani-ker from Boqmurun, and the result is

²² *MKNB* 1182.

²³ *MKNB* 1198–1302.

²⁴ *MKWR* 399. The italics are in Hatto's translation.

²⁵ *MKWR* 421–422.

²⁶ *MKso* 88–177 (Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*, 4–6).

²⁷ *MKso* 1774–2069 (Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*, 30–36).

²⁸ *MKso* 5825–5830 (Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*, 108).

²⁹ *MKNB* 1466–1473.

³⁰ *MKNB* 1515–1544.

nearly the same. Manas counsels refusing the demand and makes his threat, but in this poem's briefer text, the infidels are not seen responding with newfound humility;³¹ it can be assumed that Maani-ker remains with Boqmurun, but the horse is never mentioned again. In Saġımbay's lengthy account in *MKso*, the touchy, volatile contest of honor among heroes sparks an explosion of violence, as Manas, enraged by Qoñurbay's demand, rouses the Muslims to attack and rout the infidels; Qoñurbay ends up giving Manas a gift horse to mollify him: "Intending to take a horse, Qoñurbay gave one instead, and was sorely humiliated; he had not a shred of honor left to his name."³² Saġımbay's conception of the relative importance of Boqmurun and Manas in the epic comes out in Manas's words when he reacts to the news that Qoñurbay has demanded Maani-ker: "As long as my brilliance shines like the sun, how can I give up my racer? [. . .] As long as my radiance shines like the moon and the spirits of departed ancestors do not greatly chastise me, how can I give up my horse?"³³ The seeming slip is telling, since Maani-ker is not Manas's horse but Boqmurun's. The Manas figure's arrogations extended further still in the tradition.

The prerogative to decide how the horse race was to be run was the most important indicator of the power a hero could exercise at the feast and games. In *MKNB*, Manas uses his whip to get rid of the infidels with their pert suggestions to have the Muslim hero Ürbü marshal the start of the race; in *MKWR* and *MKso*, Manas in counsel finds Ürbü's suggestions for the organization of the race wanting in judgment or grandeur. At this point in all three poems, Manas in his anger lays out his own plan.³⁴ In *MKNB*, Nazar Bolot has Manas decree that the horses will run six months outbound and six months back:

"Elder of the people, Er Koşoy, they will be six months going and six returning. For twelve months, then, let us provide for the horses that go racing. Let us tie inexhaustible stocks of food to the jockey-boys' rear saddle-straps, let us give them ample food. And let us make a marvellous Feast until these horses return! The time has come to start the race."³⁵

In *MKWR* also, Radloff's anonymous bard shows Manas setting a course that will take several months to run: "Let them race in the pleasant cool of Autumn and return in the dappled thaw-and-snow of Spring with insects flying! Let the good come in a bunch and the bad lag sullenly behind!"³⁶ In *MKso*, Saġımbay, creditably, manages to narrate both the least fantastically exaggerated and the most detailed of the three versions of the race course. Here Manas skillfully points out a route that will take six days on

31 *MKWR* 775–916.

32 *MKso* 5723–6774 (quoted lines: 6766–6768; Saġımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*, 122).

33 *MKso* 6644–6645, 6651–6653 (Saġımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*, 120).

34 *MKNB* 1515–1593; *MKWR* 521–615; *MKso* 7173–7368 (Saġımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*, 130–133).

35 *MKNB* 1581–1593.

36 *MKWR* 609–612.

the outbound leg, where the riders go slowly to save their mounts, and two days and a night on the inbound stretch, where the real competitive racing is to be done. The distances marked by the named places, however, are epically exaggerated, stretching from Qarqıra east of Lake Issyk Kul westward past Türküstön (the city of Turkistan) on the Syr Darya – at over fifteen hundred kilometers, an impossible course to cover in such a short time.³⁷

The position of directing the horse race gave Manas virtually the standing of president over the entire feast and games, allowing him to take control of the whole proceeding. Deprived of the presidency, Boqmurun continued to play a prominent role at the memorial feast up to a point. He is the starter of the horse race in *MKNB*, and in both nineteenth-century poems he announces other sporting events and posts prizes: in *MKNB*, two bouts of wrestling and the game called “untie the camel”;³⁸ in *MKWR*, foot racing, wrestling, jousting, and “untie the camel.”³⁹ In *MKNB*, Boqmurun also bestows gifts of honor on the losers of some events,⁴⁰ and simultaneously on Manas, who is repeatedly shown on the point of escalating the triumph of a Muslim hero’s sporting victory over the infidels into an armed attack on them. Manas’s importance to the success of the affair is reconfirmed when, at the end of the race, he tells his friend Qoşoy, with a gentle dig at Boqmurun: “For who knows how many days and nights Bokmurun has furnished amblers with blazes, and dapples too, for putting up as Prizes. But now the Prizes have come to an end. Elder of the People, Er Koşoy, make good the lack! I am off to the Course!”⁴¹ In *MKso*, though Boqmurun is not named as the caller of any sporting event or poster of any prizes, his retainer, Jaş Aydar, acts as one of the heralds announcing some of the events and prizes (the horse race, wrestling and a game in which two bald men with scabby scalps were supposed to run at each other and ram their heads together).⁴² Boqmurun also provides the food and service for the banquet, the memorial feast proper, that commences after the start of the horse race. His greatest achievement in *MKso* had been in managing his people and herds for the three years that it took to amass the wealth to lay out the enormous spread and prize purse at the feast.

37 *MKso* 7336–7368 (Saghimbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*, 133).

38 The event described in the epics fits the definition of *töö čeçken* or *töö čeçtirmey* in Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar’*, 758: “A bizarre entertainment of the feudal–tribal nobility: a naked woman, bending down, tried to untie with her teeth a camel tethered to a stake driven down low into the ground; the camel went to the woman who untied it”; see also Simakov, *Obshchestvennye funktsii kirgizskikh narodnykh razvlechenii v kontse XIX – nachale XX v.*, 119–122.

39 All events in all three versions of the epic are listed with citations in Saghimbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*, 301–302.

40 Boqmurun’s *tartuu*, “Dish of Honour” in Hatto’s translation, goes to Joloy who loses to Qoşoy at wrestling, and to Jamǵırçı who loses to Manas at jousting (*MKNB* 1991, 2127).

41 *MKNB* 2276–2284. The coat color term *čibar* (Hatto: ‘dapple’) is the pattern of dark flecks on a light ground, ‘flea-bitten’.

42 *MKNB* 6874, 8181, 10258.

Boqmurun's finest moment in any of the three poems is in *MKNB*, when he masterfully handles Manas. At the finish of the race, the horse of a Muslim hero comes in first, and the infidels take their collective loss very badly; they band together, make a lightning raid, and manage to make off with the guarded herds of prize-animals. Here Manas's responsibility as president comes to the fore, for in the nineteenth-century versions it is he who, hearing of the loss, takes off across the frontier in pursuit of the rustlers. The result is a spiraling explosion of violence inside Sino-Qalmaq territory that culminates in a bloody battle between the armies of the two sides. The Muslims emerge victorious, in possession once again of the stolen prize-herds, and, most importantly, once and for all firmly under the sole domination of Manas. But before this climax, in *MKNB* Boqmurun takes the spotlight for one last time. Furious at the infidels' theft of the prize-herds, Manas has dealt Joloy a grave wound with a battle-ax. Boqmurun cools Manas's temper and ensures that the final day of the feast and games will end without open war between the two sides:

"Warrior Manas, my lord Padishah! A man who gives a feast is a villain, a man who gives a feast is a sinner! Until my old man's feast is over do not wreak havoc among my people! Single-handed I will myself take your Prize from Joloy for you, rapacious warrior though he be!" *Thus saying he joined Manas and led him away, and the latter's anger was assuaged.*⁴³

Boqmurun's magnificent act of peace-keeping was sufficient to delay the start of the war until after the feast officially concluded. For it was still the young khan's feast and games, and the peaceful rest of the dead was at stake. The bard Nazar, after having given Boqmurun this understated feat, does not mention him again in the rest of the story.

The hostilities that erupted after the finish of the horse race, summarized above in the form narrated by Nazar in *MKNB*, look familiar from the standpoint of the later Qırğız epic tradition. The invasion by the Muslim heroes under Manas deep inside Qıtay territory essentially constitutes the plot line of the concluding epic of the cycle as it was first attested in full form in Sağımbay's version in the 1920s, the episode known as *The Great Campaign* (*Čoŋ čabuul* or *Čoŋ qazat*).⁴⁴ In Sağımbay's *Great Campaign*, after the conclusion of Kökötöy's memorial feast and Manas's ascent to total control over the Muslims, seven of their khans become disaffected by the overweening behavior that Manas displayed as president of the feast and games. Manas heads off the khans' plot against him by summoning one and all to follow him on the decisive campaign to Beejin. It appears that *The Great Campaign* was originally an inflated repetition of the punitive raid led by Manas against the Sino-Qalmaqs at the end of *MK*. In this connection, it is telling that in Sağımbay's version of *MK*, Manas arrives among the last heroes, not first, at the staging point of the punitive raid.⁴⁵ The poet instead gives Boqmurun

⁴³ *MKNB* 2580–2589. In the portion I have marked with italics, my translation differs from Hatto's.

⁴⁴ Sağımbay, *Manas. Kyrgyz élinin baatyrdyk éposu*, pp. 195–468.

⁴⁵ This is because Manas's presidential chores at the end of the horse race kept him detained until after the start of the first punitive foray (*MKso* 12279–12300; Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*, 215–216).

the slight honor of being the first to go out in pursuit, apparently a recognition of the young hero's latent claim to the presidency of the feast. In the nineteenth-century versions, Manas led this counterassault. The reason that Saǵımbay could afford to leave Manas in the rear at this point was that Saǵımbay had demoted the counterassault in *MK* from its climactic position; the main raid on the infidels under Manas's command lies in the future, in Saǵımbay's *Great Campaign*.

It is commonly remarked that the nineteenth-century records of the Manas epic cycle do not include a text of the so-called *Great Campaign* episode.⁴⁶ This is only partially correct. The epic apparently did not exist independently at that time. The concluding act of *MK* constituted its basic plot, which later bards expanded into a separate episode.⁴⁷ Saǵımbay may have been one of those bards. His entire *Manas* composition shows that he worked hard to construct a broad, unified story out of the disparate elements of the cycle.

Manas's political ascendancy in all three versions of *MK* was predicated on Qırǵız bards' and audiences' understanding that the presidency over a great horse race was a powerful position. Manas's final ascent to paramountcy among the Muslim heroes in the epic tradition is epitomized by his assumption of presidency over the gathering in *MK*. His taking control of the horse race is the most explicit dramatization of this act of arrogation. Manas's path to ultimate success in the epic ran straight through his role as guarantor of order in the horse race. In later developments of the tradition, Manas's implied failure to maintain order, as the infidels lift the prize-herds, actuates his leadership in the massive punitive raid, and eventually the modern climax of the Manas cycle, *The Great Campaign*.

And what about the host, Boqmurun? The plots of the mid nineteenth-century versions of *MK* were fundamentally concerned with the question of how Kōkötöy's orphaned young son would achieve heroic status. That the narrative problem was not about Boqmurun's path to khanly rule is shown effectively in *MKNB* by the fact that his people raise him as khan immediately after he announces his plans for the feast and before he sends his herald out to invite all the heroes to attend.⁴⁸ Since this version of the epic accepts that Boqmurun had already become khan before the real action begins, it is clearer that Boqmurun's claims to advancement in the narrative were supposed to rest on other successes: in his management of his people's migration to the memorial feast grounds, in his diplomacy with the infidel Qalmaqs in whose territory that place was located (a bold and risky political maneuver intended to weaken Sino-Qalmaq power over him) and, if he could manage it, in his presiding over the feast and games.⁴⁹ This

⁴⁶ E.g., Laude–Cirtautas, "Fragen der *Manas*-Forschung."

⁴⁷ The earliest attested possible evidence of the separate existence of the *Great Campaign* epic is a brief fragment collected in 1900 and published in Almásy, "Der Abschied des Helden Manas von seinem Sohne Sēmetēj."

⁴⁸ *MKNB* 373–377.

⁴⁹ Prior, "Sino-Mongolica in the Qırǵız Epic Poem Kōkötöy's Memorial Feast."

underlying plot problem was not expressed overtly in the recorded epics; much less was Boqmurun successful at mastering the problem. Instead, the figure of the all-powerful hero Manas obtruded into the story of Boqmurun. In form the epic of Kōkötöy's memorial feast was taken over by Manas in a process of cyclization.⁵⁰ Interestingly, the texts differ widely in the opinions they express as to Manas's appropriateness for the presidency. Depending on the poem and the hero who is speaking, Manas comes off as a spoiler (*MKNB*, 1856), an outright menace (*MKWR*, 1862), or a shoo-in (*MKSO*, 1925).⁵¹ This variety of voices is significant. Something about Manas did not sit well with nineteenth-century audiences.

It can be hazardous to read these heroic epic poems in a straightforward manner, as if their stylized depictions of nomadic life were merely repositories of primary source material for historical ethnography or Turkic lexicography on the theme of sport. More importantly, the epics, better than any other available sources, attest to a high age in Qırğız intellectual history, consisting in the shared, evolving discourse of epic bards, patrons and audiences. The horse race in *MK* brings on the main consequences not only in the *MK* epic itself; the twentieth-century bard Sağımbay also used the culmination of the plot of *MK* as the fulcrum for transition into the final epic of his unified cycle, *The Great Campaign*. In the plot of *MK* we may glimpse the Qırğız epic tradition's collective acquiescence in the Manas figure's ascent to the paramount position over other heroes through his presidency over the feast and games. This acquiescence did not extend to the total eclipse of Boqmurun's figure in the tradition, however. Apparently in tune with their audiences' affection for the lad, each of the three bards whose versions were studied here extended small courtesies to Boqmurun. Radloff's anonymous bard in 1862 had Boqmurun post prizes for various sporting events. Nazar Bolot in 1856 did the same, and gave Boqmurun a magisterial scene where he prevailed physically over Manas after the end of the horse race – a rare thing for any hero to do to Manas, all the more so peaceably in the act of soothing him. Sağımbay in 1925 gave the fullest account of Boqmurun's expert handling of the preparations for the lavish feast and games, and put the young hero in the forefront of the punitive attack on the infidels, taking advantage of a "slot" for that function opened up by the creation of the separate *Great Campaign* episode in which Manas takes the lead. Indeed the appearance of the *Great Campaign* episode in the twentieth century draws attention back to the weighty issues that pervade the role of president over Qırğız epic memorial feasts and games. The possibility of minutely cross-examining a succession of epic bards over time – by now more than a century and a half – on the exact significance of issues surrounding the presidency of a horse race attests to the long duration of vital connections between the Qırğız people and their epic tradition.

⁵⁰ Hatto, "Kukotay and Bok Murun" 1: 347–348; Prior, "The Twilight Age of the Kirghiz Epic Tradition," 123–125.

⁵¹ *MKNB* 259–264, 1060–1084; *MKWR* 391–399; *MKSO* 122–190, 1353–1355 (Sağımbay, *The Memorial Feast for Kōkötöy Khan*, 5, 24).

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Dilbar Akhmedova

Abdurauf Fitrat's Interpretation of Xoja Ahmad Yassaviy and the *Divan-i Hikmat*

This paper aims to revisit the question of why Abdurauf Fitrat (1886–1938),¹ a prominent Uzbek historian, writer, playwright, poet, and one of the founders of modern Uzbek language and literature, would write and publish under his name the article entitled “Ahmad Yassaviy” (1927), in which he condemns the prominent Central Asian Turkic Sheikh Xoja Ahmad Yassaviy (d. 1166 CE) and Yassaviy's teachings in the *Divan-i hikmat* (Compendium of words of advice).² Uzbek Professor Boybuta Dustqorayev (1956–2021) speculates Fitrat fails to grasp Yassaviy's teachings because the *hikmat* (words of wisdom; plural: *hikmatlar*) lack profundity.³ Both Uzbek historian Hamidulla Boltaboyev (1954–) and Begali Qosimov (1942–2004), an Uzbek literary figure known for his extensive works on Fitrat, speculate Fitrat had no other choice but to comply with Bolshevik policy and diminish the sheikh, who remains revered among Uzbeks and other Muslim Turkic peoples.⁴ To address this, it is important to examine circumstances prior to 1927, i.e., before Fitrat published his article. For example, in 1923, after the Central Committee of Communist Party (CCCP) took full control over the Bukhara Soviet Republic (BSP), Fitrat, personally, was fired from his position as the Minister of Public Education in Bukhara (present-day Uzbekistan) and extradited to Moscow because his ideas and actions did not align with the Soviet regime.⁵ In 1925, the CCCP released a decree entitled *O politike partii v oblasti xudožestvennoj literatury* (A party policy on the field of literature), which authorized censorship and intervention in literature in the Soviet Union.⁶ Around 1926 the situation intensified, and several Uzbek intellectuals were imprisoned. Fitrat's colleagues like Abdulla Qodiriy (1894–1938),⁷ Munavvarqori Abdurashidxon (1878–1931) and Mahmud Hodiev (1904–1938) were

1 This paper was written with the recommendation of Professor Ilse Laude–Cirtautas (1926–2019) during my studies at the University of Washington (2009).

2 Fitrat, *Tanlangan asarlar: ilmiy asarlar*, 22.

3 Dustqorayev, foreword to *Yassaviy kim edi? Maqolalar va hikmatlardan parchalar*, 8.

4 See Boltaboyev, notes to “Ahmad Yassaviy”, 179; 180. Qosimov, *Maslakdoshlar*, 141; In Russian, *bol'shevik* means “one of the majority”, i.e., a member of the Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party as opposed to *men'shevik*, i.e., “one of the minority”.

5 Boltaboyev, “Talabni qondirmagan inqilob.”

6 Zakolodkin et al, *O kul'turnom stroitel'stve*, 184, accessed 22 October 2022, <http://docs.historyrussia.org/ru/nodes/90813>; See also, Karim, *Abdulla Qodiriy*, 11–12.

7 Abdulla Qodiriy, also known as Julqunboy, is considered as the founder of the novel genre in contemporary Uzbek literature. His novels *O'tkan kunlar* (1924; *Bygone Days*) and *Mehrobdan chayon* (1929; Scorpion [creeping] from a mihrab. *Mihrab*, similarly to *qibla*, is a niche in a mosque facing toward Kaaba, where Muslim face when praying) are one of the most-popular Uzbek novels. See Qo'shjonov, *Qodiriy—erksizlik qurboni*.

pressured and imprisoned for having anti-Soviet ideas.⁸ This chapter, prior to assessing Fitrat's work, provides a brief historical background encapsulating the period before the scholar wrote the article, i.e., the Russian invasion of Central Asia, Bolshevik regime; information on Fitrat, Yassaviy and the *Divan-i hikmat*.

1 The Bolshevik Regime

In the late 1860s, the Russians began taking control over Central Asian regions.⁹ On 11 July 1867, Russian Tsar Aleksander II (1818–1881) decreed to establish the Governor Generalship of Turkestan in the territories of present-day Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.¹⁰ Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman (1818–1882) was appointed as the first governor-general of Turkestan, which he governed from 1867–1881.¹¹ Kaufman gradually occupied neighboring territories in 1868 – he took over the city of Samarkand, the Emirate of Bukhara, the Khanate of Khiva in 1873 and, two years later, the Khanate of Kokand.¹²

New political, judicial and socioeconomic regulations were introduced in Central Asia with the Russian invasion.¹³ The local belief system, Islam, was undermined, and any opposition among the Central Asian populations was suppressed by Russians.¹⁴ In 1884 the first Russian *tuzem* (a shortened version of *tuzemec*; indigenous) school was established in Tashkent; locals who learned and spoke in Russian socially benefited more than those who did not.¹⁵

⁸ Munavvarqori Abdurashidxon was an Uzbek writer, journalist, scholar, leader of the Central Asian *jadid* (new way; new method) movement and the founder of the twentieth-century Uzbek national press. Fitrat was largely influenced by Abdurashidxon and his works. See Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*; Mahmud Hodiev (also known as Botu) was one of the talented Uzbek authors and educators; he made significant contributions to the fields of Uzbek science and culture. Although he was supportive of Bolshevik ideas, he was still arrested in 1929; Hodiev's daughter Naima Mahmudova (1928–2017) wrote a memoir of her father; See Naima Mahmudova, *Žizn'—po pleču*; Qosimov, *O'zbek adabiyoti va adabiy aloqalari tarixi*, 308. See Qosimov, *Maslakdoshlar*, 141.

⁹ Agzamhujaev and Rajabov, "Turkiston muxtoriyati," accessed 22 October 2022. https://n.ziyouz.com/books/uzbekiston_milliy_ensiklopediyasi/O'zbekiston%20Milliy%20Ensiklopediyasi%20-%20T%20harfi.pdf.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Sodiqov and Juraev, "O'zbekistonning yangi tarixi," 230.

¹³ See Abdurakhimova, "The Colonial System of Power in Turkestan," 239–262, accessed 10 September 2022, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3879826>.

¹⁴ Otabek o'g'li, *Dukchi eshon voqeasi* [The story of dukchi eshon]. 20–21; See Agzamhujaev and Rajabov, "Turkiston muxtoriyati".

¹⁵ "Rus-tuzem maktablari" [Russian-tuzem schools] in *O'zbekiston milliy entsiklopediyasi*, R, 307–308; See Toyirov, *O'zbekiston tarixi*, 17.

The Russian modifications agitated locals. In 1871 one of the Uzbek leaders by the name Yetimxon organized an uprising against tsarist Russia's regime in Mingtepa, present-day Uzbekistan.¹⁶ In 1873–1876, Mulla Isxoq Hasan o'g'li (1844–1876), waged an insurgency under the name of Po'latxon, the legitimate heir of the throne,¹⁷ against the tsarist colonial policy in another Uzbek city of Margilan.¹⁸

In 1898, Uzbek Naqshbandi Sufi leader Muhammad Ali (1856–1898),¹⁹ also known as *Dukchi* (spindle-maker) *Eshon* (also *ishan*, spiritual leader), initiated a major uprising which came to be known as the *Andijon qozg'oloni* (Andijan uprising).²⁰ *Dukchi Eshon* was hung after being captured by the Russians.²¹ According to Uzbek scholar Fozilbek Otabek o'g'li,²² following the aforementioned uprising, the Russians became more frightened by the Central Asian population and thus enforced stricter rules to crush local confidence – every local Muslim had to kneel down in front of a Russian to demonstrate obedience.²³

The Central Asian resistance against Russian occupation was not a new occurrence. In the early 1820s, Kazakh freedom-fighters like Sırım Datulı (1753–1802) and Tilenji Jolamanov fought against the Russian invaders in their lands.²⁴ Similarly, Chingizid Khan Kenesary (1802–1847), the last khan of the Kazakh Khanate,²⁵ fought from 1837–1847s.²⁶ Renowned Uzbek historian Baymirza Hayit (1917–2006) reports an uprising against Russians led by Kazakh leader İsatay Taymanulı (1791–1838) in Aq Bulaq, modern-day Eastern Kazakhstan, where he was killed after being captured by Russians.²⁷ Later, Kazakh *aqın* (improvising poet-singers.) Maxambet Ötemisulı (1804–1845) joined Taymanulı in the same endeavors.²⁸

16 The dates of birth and death of Yetimxon are unknown; Toyirov, *O'zbekiston tarixi*, 17.

17 The dates of birth and death of Po'latxon are unknown. He was the grandson of Kokand ruler Olimxon (1774–1810), but Po'latxon was never interested in ruling nor in revolts against Russians. More on this subject see Bobobekov, *Qo'qon tarixi*; also see Scott, *The Rise and Fall of Khoqand*, 2017.

18 Bobobekov, *Qo'qon tarixi*, 64–65. See Juraev, *O'zbekiston tarixi*, 426.

19 On *Dukchi Eshon* see Allworth, *Central Asia*; Otabek o'g'li. *Dukchi eshon voqeasi*; See also Togan, *Bo'linganni bo'ri yer*.

20 Otabek o'g'li, 21. See also Togan.

21 Otabek o'g'li, *ibid*.

22 The dates of birth and death of the author are unknown.

23 Otabek o'g'li, *ibid*.

24 See Qurmanalın, “Reseylik otarşıldıq sayasatqa qarsı Qazaq ult-azattıq koterilisleri,” 32–37.

25 A Central Asian Turkic khanate that lasted from the 15th to 19th centuries. See Omarbekov, *Qazaq türkileriniñ memlekepilligi*.

26 See Karenov, “1837–1847 jıldarı Kenesarı xan basqarğan ult-azattıq kozğalı,” 45–46, accessed 5 July 2022. https://rep.ksu.kz/bitstream/handle/data/3758/Karenov_%20R_S_44-58.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

27 Baymirza Hayit, originally from Uzbekistan, later moved to Germany where he settled. Hayit's contributions to the field of history of Turkestan and Central Asia are remarkable. Hayit, *Turkestan zwischen Russland und China*, 175.

28 Hamzaeva, “Böke ordasındağı İsatay jane Maxambet bastağan köterilis,” 50–52.

Between 1906–1913, the tsarist administration built 116 settlements in the territory of the General Governorship of Turkestan.²⁹ In 1915 Russian Tsar Nikolaj II (1868–1918) released a decree, *O privlečenii inorodcev imperii k voennym ob'ektam, a takže k drugim meroprijatiem, neobxodimom dlja oborony gosudarstva*, (On the involvement of non-Russian men in the empire in military installations in the active army, as well as any other work necessary for the national defense) where men from Central Asia and other regions of Russia, between the ages of nineteen and forty-three years old, had to be drafted to build a defensive infantry in preparation for World War I.³⁰ These events led to massive resistance by Central Asians in 1916, resulting in the revolts in Semirechye, also known as the *Ürkün* (exodus) revolt, and the Jizzakh uprising.³¹

At the beginning of the 1900s, during this period, often called by Uzbek scholars as the *milliy uyg'onish* (national awakening), Central Asian intellectuals produced myriads of articles and plays emphasizing the importance of education, cultural reform and to become independent from the Russian colonization. Among them were remarkable Kazakh scholars and politicians like Älixan Bökeyxanov (1866–1937), Mirjaqip Dulatuli (1885–1935) and Axmet Baytursinov (1873–1937), and Uzbek reformers and writers Mahmudhuja Behbudiy (1875–1919) and Fitrat among others.³²

Being troubled by socio-political changes in his country, Dulatuli published a collection of poems entitled “Oyan! Qazaq”, (1909; Wake up! Kazakh) addressing his people; in 1910, Bökeyxanov's political publication entitled *Kyrgyzy (Kazaxi)* appeared; Behbudiy's play *Padarkush* (1911; Patricide) depicting the tragic future of an uneducated Central Asian young son who ends up killing his father; Fitrat's plays reflecting his political views on modernization entitled *Munozara* (1911; Debate) and *Bayonoti sayyohi hindi* (1912; Tales of an Indian traveler) were published. Bökeyxanov, Dulatuli and Baytursinov established the Kazakh Autonomous Alash Party, which existed from 1917–1920, whereas Uzbek reformer Behbudiy played a crucial role in founding of the Turkestan autonomy, also known as Kokand autonomy which functioned from 1917–1918, and abolished by the Bolsheviks.³³

²⁹ Juraev, 305.

³⁰ Ziyayeva, “Jizzax qo'zg'oloni” [The Jizzakh revolt], 144, accessed September 1, 2022. https://n.ziyouz.com/books/uzbekiston_milliy_ensiklopediyasi/O'zbekiston%20Milliy%20Ensiklopediyasi%20-%20J%20harfi.pdf.

³¹ Kozybaev et al, *Istoriya Kazaxstana* [History of Kazakhstan], 272. Haydarov, *Jizzax viloyati tarixi* [History of the Jizzakh province], 34.

³² Mahmudhuja Behbudiy, a playwright, journalist and educator, is considered to be the founder of the modern Uzbek drama. Being influenced by the ideas of the Tatar *jadid* reformer and educator Ismailbey Gaspirinski (1851–1914), he became a pioneer of reformation of Islamic education in Central Asia. Behbudiy created many school books for such new schools. Fitrat looked up to him as a mentor. For more on Behbudiy, see Allworth, *Central Asia*; Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform Jadidism in Central Asia*.

³³ Koigeldiev, *The Alash Movement*, 160. Agzamhujaev et al, “Turkiston muxtoriyati”, 743, accessed 7 September 2022, https://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no14_ses/06_koigeldiev.pdf.

In 1917, the Bolsheviks overthrew the monarchy in Russia. Tsar Nikolaj II, the last emperor of Russia (r. 1894–1917), relinquished the throne during this revolution. This was an end for Romanov's dynastic rule.³⁴ The tsar and his family were executed in Yekaterinburg because of a decision of the Bolshevik Board of Ural Province (BBUP) and on the instructions of the Bolshevik leader Vladimir Ilič Lenin (1870–1924).³⁵

Lenin believed in building total dominion of the working-class citizens over capitalism. In his 1917 work, entitled *Gosudarstvo i revoliucija* (State and revolution), he encouraged citizens to suppress and exclude the rich to provide full democracy for the poor. "This is the change which democracy undergoes during the transition from capitalism to communism."³⁶ Lenin, being influenced by the ideas of the German philosopher and the author of *Manifesto*, Karl Marx (1818–1883), was determined that all forms of beliefs were considered "opium".³⁷ In 1905 Lenin wrote the following in a daily Bolshevik newspaper titled *Novaja žizn'* (New life):

Those who toil and live in want all their lives are taught by religion to be submissive and patient while here on earth, and to take comfort in the hope of a heavenly reward. But those who live by the labor of others are taught by religion to practice charity while on earth, thus offering them a very cheap way of justifying their entire existence as exploiters and selling them at a moderately priced tickets to well-being in heaven. Religion is opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life, more or less, worthy of man.³⁸

In 1918, according to the constitution of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialistic Republics (RSFSR), all religious entities had to be separated from the state, and they should not have power in politics.³⁹ In May of 1919, based on Lenin's orders, the All-Russian Executive Committee (AREC) and the Council of People's Commissariat (CPC) moved

³⁴ His full name was Nikolaj Aleksandrovič Romanov. The dynasty was established in 1721 and the first tsar of the dynasty was Mixail Romanov (1596–1645). See Patenaude, Roberts and Kasinec, *The Crown Under the Hammer*.

³⁵ Ioffe, *Revoljucija i sud'ba Romanovyx*, 351.

³⁶ Lenin, *Davlat va revolyutsiya*, 87–88.

³⁷ Lenin referred to Marx's quote that religion was "the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people". See Marx's work, *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (the original title: *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie*), was written in 1844 in Germany. See works of Marx on Marxist Internet Archive, accessed November 12, 2022, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm>. Marx's aforementioned work has been translated into English under the title *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* by Jolin and O'Malley.

³⁸ Lenin, *Novaja žizn'* [New life], 83–87, accessed September 10, 2022. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1905/dec/03.htm>.

³⁹ Oralbayuli, *Keñestiq deuri degi Kazaxstandağı islam*, 56, accessed June 9, 2022. <https://nmu.edu.kz/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Amankul-Temur-Oralbayuly-21.09.2020.pdf>.

forward to destroy as many belief systems as possible, to imprison popes as counterrevolutionaries and to shut down churches and turn them into warehouses.⁴⁰

In 1922 the first issue of the newspaper titled *Bezbožnik* (Godless) was published in Moscow.⁴¹ In the following year, several atheist organizations called *Bezbožnye* (Godless ones) began to appear in Central Asia.⁴² On 24 December 1923, the Internal Affairs of the People's Commissariat (IAPC) of RSFSR prepared a report entitled *Posvešjaetsja antireligioznoj propagande sredi musul'man sovetsoj socialističeskoj respubliki* (Dedicated to antireligious propaganda among the muslims of the soviet socialist republic), stating that any propaganda of religious bourgeois-anarchist and antistate ideologies directed against the Soviet authorities would be "criminally prosecuted pursuant the articles of the Criminal Code" of the Soviet Union.⁴³ According to IAPC, the religion of Islam was a "slave of the rich", and it was against the principles of communism, thus requiring strict censorship.⁴⁴ On 23 December 1924, AIAP proposed a strategy on intensifying antireligious propaganda among the Muslims of Soviet Socialist Republics (MSSR).⁴⁵

By 1929 the Soviet regime required all Muslim organizations, mosques, groups and schools to be registered and report their activities in detail annually throughout Central Asia.⁴⁶ Residents were allowed to pray only with the prior consent of Soviet officials.⁴⁷ By the end of 1929, myriads of innocent Muslims and sheikhs were repressed by the regime.⁴⁸ According to Distinguished Uzbek Writer Muhammad Ali (1942–), most mosques and madrassas were permanently shut down or turned into stables for horses.⁴⁹

⁴⁰ Karpov. *Generalissimus*, 67–68.

⁴¹ Enišerlov et al, *Voinstvujuščee bezbožie v SSR za 15 let (1917–1932)* [Militant godlessness in SSR for fifteen years (1917–1932)], 324, accessed August 2, 2022, https://rusneb.ru/catalog/000199_000009_007525070/.

⁴² Oralbayuli, 58–59.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Enišerlov et al, 319.

⁴⁶ Oralbayuli, 59–60.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Pasilov and Ashirov, "Revival of Sufi Traditions": 163.

⁴⁹ Muhammad Ali, *Men ko'rgan Amerika*, 201. Muhammad Ali is an Distinguished Writer of People in Uzbekistan. In the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, Muhammad Ali bravely wrote poems about Uzbek freedom-fighter Dukchi Eshon (1856–1898) against Russian colonialism—(1967; *Boqiy dunyo* [Eternal world]) and prominent Central Asian Turkic ruler Amir Temur (1336–1405), 1979; *Gumbazdagi nur* (Light coming though the cupola), the figures who were forbidden to be written about during the Soviet Union. Muhammad Ali is the first Uzbek to author a tetraology where Amir Temur is illuminated as an ordinary human being, father, husband and the emperor. Between 1992–2005, the author taught Uzbek language and literature courses together with Ilse Laude-Cirtautas at the University of Washington. They were close friends. See Laude-Cirtautas, "Muhammad Ali (1942–)," 32–47.

2 Situating Fitrat

Fitrat was born in Bukhara in 1886;⁵⁰ his full name was Abdurauf (or Abdulrauf) Abdulrahim Fitrat, with his last name, meaning “to create”, from Arabic, serving as his pseudonym. He received his education in Istanbul, Turkey, between 1909 and 1914. There he was influenced by reformist ideas of the Young Turks movement.⁵¹ As a result, Fitrat wrote his work entitled *Munozara* (1911; Debate), which encouraged compatriots to strive for higher education, reform and freedom from colonization.⁵²

After his return to Turkestan in 1914, Fitrat became involved with the *jadid* (new way, method) movement in Bukhara under the mentorship of the renowned Central Asian reformer Behbudi. Later, Fitrat became one of the leaders of the *Buxoro yoshlari harakati* (Bukhara youth movement).⁵³

In October of 1917, Fitrat grew discouraged when the Bolsheviks seized power; the scholar described this day as the most sorrowful day of his homeland in one of his works.⁵⁴ On 27 November 1917, he saw rays of hope by the establishment of the Turkestan Autonomy.⁵⁵ Again, the scholar's hopes were short lived. On 20 February 1918, the Bolsheviks abolished the Turkestan Autonomy, and circumstances became dire in Bukhara.⁵⁶ Fitrat fled to Tashkent; there he joined the communist party.⁵⁷ He taught literature at the University of Muslim Turkestan; in 1919, Fitrat met the well-known Uzbek writer and reformer Cho'lpon in Tashkent;⁵⁸ from 1919–1920, Fitrat worked as an interpreter at the Afghan Embassy in Tashkent.⁵⁹ While residing there, he estab-

50 For more on Fitrat, see Allworth, *The Preoccupations of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat, Bukharan Nonconformist*.

51 This movement was against the absolute monarchy of the Ottoman Empire, and its goal was to replace the monarchy with a constitutional state in Turkey.

52 Fitrat, *Tanlangan asarlar*, 8.

53 There is a speculation that the early *jadid* movement began around 1905 in Turkestan.

Karimov, “Fitrat,” 170, accessed 5 July 2022, https://n.ziyouz.com/books/uzbekiston_milliy_ensiklopediyasi/O'zbekiston%20Milliy%20Ensiklopediyasi%20-%20F%20harfi.pdf.

54 Ibid.

55 See Qosimov, *Maslakdoshlar*, 85.

56 Ibid.

57 Karimov, 170.

58 Cho'lpon, (full name: Abdulhamid Sulaymon o'g'li Yunusov) was strongly influenced by Munnavarqori Abdurashidxon's ideas for educational reform in Central Asia. Cholpon, like his colleague Qodiriy, is considered to be one of the first Uzbek novelists. His novel *Kecha va Kunduz* (1936; Night and day) portrays hard lives of Uzbek women during the colonial times. The second part of the novel, i.e., “Day”, was never completed. See Quronov, *Cho'lpon hayoti va ijodiy merosi*, 1997. For an English translation of his novel see Cho'lpon, *Night and Day*.

59 Ibid.

lished the *Chig'atoy gurungi* (The Chagatai discourse, 1918–1920),⁶⁰ an organization promoting Central Asian culture, education, history, language, literature and contemporary studies.⁶¹

In September of 1920, Fitrat returned to Bukhara with the support of Fayzulla Xujayev (1896–1938),⁶² a renowned Uzbek reformer, governor of Bukhara, and leader of the Bukhara youth movement; in June of 1920, Fitrat became a member of the Central Committee of the Bukhara Communistic Party (CCBCP).⁶³ From 1921 onward, he held various administrative government positions; he was the founder of the first school of oriental music in Bukhara in 1921, and he sent more than sixty local students to study in Germany.⁶⁴

On 12 June 1923, the Politburo proposed to take full control over the Bukharan Peoples' Soviet Republic (BPSR).⁶⁵ As a result, on June 24, during the eleventh session of the Central Executive Committee of the Republic of Bukhara, the board decided immediately to extradite Fitrat from Bukhara to Moscow; from 1923 to 1924, Fitrat worked at the former Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow (present-day Research Institute of Oriental Studies), where he mainly engaged in academia.⁶⁶ He gave lectures on subjects of language, literature and culture at the Department of Oriental Studies at the Leningrad State University, where he was awarded the title of professor, the first among Central Asian scholars.⁶⁷

Censorship against Fitrat grew stronger after his return from Moscow to Central Asia in 1927; by this time the atmosphere had changed: BPSR did not exist anymore due to new national borders in Central Asia.⁶⁸ Soviet socialist critics were on a rigorous hunt for writers, educators and reformers who were against the Soviet ideology.⁶⁹ Fitrat remained in Central Asia until he was arrested by the Soviets on 24 April 1937, and kept

⁶⁰ A common Turkic language (also Turki, or Eastern Turkic) that is believed to be spoken among Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Uyghur and Uzbek peoples of Central Asia from the end of the fourteenth to approximately the nineteenth century. The word “Chaghatai” refers to the name of Chingiz Khan's (d. 1227) son Chagatai, who ruled Central Asia from 1127 CE–1242 CE.

⁶¹ Karimov, 171.

⁶² Fayzulla Xujayev was the first leader of the Bukharan Peoples' Soviet Republic. He was against Russian colonization and cotton monopoly. Xujayev was one of the strong advocates of the *jadid* movement in Bukhara and a leader of the Bukharan Youth group, which was against the Bolsheviks. Fitrat was a close friend of Xujayev, and compared to his contemporaries, Xujayev was politically powerful. See Xujayev, *Fayzulla Xo'jayev hayoti*.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Boltaboyev, “Talabni qondirmagan inqilob”, accessed 16 September 2022.

https://n.ziyouz.com/books/jurnallar/sharq_yulduzi/Sharq%20yulduzi%20-%201991_1.pdf.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Qosimov et al. *Milliy uyg'onish davri adabiyoti*, 233.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

in prison until he was murdered on 4 October 1938, during the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's (1878–1953) purges.⁷⁰

During his writing career between 1911 and 1937, Fitrat wrote political and educational articles as well as plays in Turkic (old Uzbek) and Tajik languages. His plays, reflecting his political views, titled *Munozara* (Debate) and *Bayonoti sayyohi hindi* (1912; Tales of an Indian traveler), were and still are well-known among Central Asians. His other plays are *Begijon* (1916; Farmers uprisings against the khan); *Abu Muslim* (1916); *Temurning sog'onasi* (1918; The tomb of Temur); *Chin sevish* (1920; True love); *Hind ixti-lochilari* (1923; Indian revolutionists); *Qiyomat* (1923; The judgement day); *Bedil* (1923; Poet Bedil); *Shaytoninig tangriga isyoni* (1924; Satan's revolt against god); *Abulfayzxon* (1924; The ruler Abulfayzkhon); *Arslon* (1926; Arslon: An upright young man); *Isyoni Vose* (1927; The uprising of Vose); and *To'lqin* (1934; Wave). The range of Fitrat's scholarship is broad. He wrote about 200 articles on religion, language, culture, music, economics and politics. Not all his works have survived.

3 Yassaviy

Sources on Yassaviy and his legacy are limited. As a result, there are several gaps in the Yassaviy studies, especially in the field of the *Divan-i hikmat* that is attributed to the sheikh. It is believed that he was born either at the end of the eleventh century CE or at the beginning of the twelfth century CE. A Timurid statesman, humanitarian, poet and father of Uzbek literature Alisher Nava'i (1441 CE–1501) mentions in his work entitled *Nasoyim ul-muhabbat* (Breeze of love) that Yassaviy was from the town Yassi, present-day Kazakhstan. Some scholars speculate that Yassaviy was born in Sayram, located near Yassi, and that his family moved to Yassi when he was a child.⁷¹

Yassaviy traveled to Bukhara,⁷² where he studied Persian and Arabic, as well as Islamic mystic literature.⁷³ He became the third disciple of the prominent *xo'jagon* (Sufi master) Yusuf al-Hamadoni (1048 CE–1140 CE).⁷⁴ After the latter's successors Hasan Andaqiy (1073 CE–1157 CE) and Abdullah Baraqiy (1060 CE–1161 CE) passed away, Yassaviy earned the title *xo'jagon*. For a short period, he taught in Bukhara and returned to Yassi, leaving behind the fourth successor of Hamadani, Abdulxoliq G'ijduvoni (1103 CE–1179 CE).⁷⁵ It is believed that Yassaviy approximately passed away in 1166 CE. Nowadays, the saint's shrine, which was rebuilt by the renowned Central Asian Turkic ruler

⁷⁰ See Qosimov, *Maslakdoshlar*, 144–154; Stalin was the leader of the Soviet Union from 1924–1953; he led a political campaign from 1936–1938, a period which is called the “Great Purge” or “Stalin's Purges”.

⁷¹ Nava'i, *Mukammal asarlar to'plami*, 413; Haqqul, *Ahmad Yassaviy*, 4.

⁷² This city was considered a center for Islamic education during that period.

⁷³ Haqqul, 4.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Kenjetay, *Hoca Ahmet Yesevi'nin ahlak felsefesi*, 22.

Amir Temur (1336 CE–1405 CE), is in the city of Turkestan, Kazakhstan. The mausoleum is also called the “Second Mecca” for Central Asian Turkic Muslims.

Several historical accounts shed light on Yassaviy and his order to some extent. For example, a treatise entitled *Nasap-nama* (Genealogy), written by Maulana Sayfid-din Orung Qoylaqi, grandson of Yassaviy’s younger brother Sadr Sheikh, contains rare information about Yassaviy’s family tree.⁷⁶ It is also reported that when Yassaviy was twenty years old, Khizr (also, Kathir, Khidr and Khizir) asked him for his promise in commitment (to Islam) and declared that Yassaviy would become a “great *mashayikh* (sheikh of sheikhs) with many murids” in the future;⁷⁷ after that Yassavi came to Yassi from the Sayram region and served as a sheikh for 100 years.⁷⁸ This manuscript of the *Nasap-nama* was obtained from the personal library of Quvondiq Sarvarov, reports Uzbek-Kazakh scholar Ashirbek Muminov.⁷⁹

Moreover, a close disciple of Yassaviy, Sulaymon Boqirghoniy (1091 CE–1186 CE), known as Hakim Ata (also Ota), well-known for his aphorisms and *hikmatlar*, writes the following lines to his master:

*Shariati orasta, tariqati payvasta,
Haqiqatga shoista shayxim Ahmad Yassaviy.
Shariatni so’zlag’on, tariqatni izlag’on,
Haqiqatni bildurg’on shayxim Ahmad Yassaviy.*⁸⁰

Translation:

His sharia is divine, his order is the same,
My Sheikh Ahmad Yassaviy is the king of truth.
He tells about the sharia, follows the tariqat,
My Sheikh Ahmad Yassaviy informs [us of] the truth.

The eminent Timurid statesman and father of Uzbek literature Mir Alisher Nava’i states the following about Yassaviy in *Nasoyim ul-muhabbat*:

*Turkiston mulking shayx ul-mashoyixidur. Maqomoti oliy va mashhur, karomoti mutavoli va nomuxsur yermish . . . , aning mazori Turkistonda, Yassi degan yerdaki, mavlid va manshaidur ovozi bo’lubdur va Turkiston qiblai duosidur.*⁸¹

⁷⁶ See Qoylaqi, *Qazinali öntüstik*, 13.

⁷⁷ An elderly sagacious male figure described as a messenger and servant of God in Islamic tradition.

⁷⁸ Qoylaqi, 13.

⁷⁹ Qoylaqi, 320.

⁸⁰ Boqirg’oniy, *Boqirg’on kitobi* [Book of Boqirghon], 15–16. A collection of Boqirg’oniy’s *hikmatlar* was published under the title *Boqirgon kitobi* for the first time in 1906 in Kazan.

⁸¹ Nava’i, 413.

Translation:

He is the Sheikh of the Sheikhs of Turkestan. His authority is high and eminent, his prophecy is supreme and prominent . . . , his tomb is located in Turkestan, in a place called Yassi, which is his birthplace, and [his mausoleum] has become the *qibla* of Turkestan.⁸²

Iranian scholar Najib Moyil Haravi informs us that Sheikh Burhoniddin Qilich, who lived in the thirteenth century CE in the city of Özgön, located in the Osh region of present-day Kyrgyzstan, mentions Yassaviy in his treatise entitled *Marta' al-salihin wa zad al-salikin* (The hearth of the righteous), as “*Yassilik Ahmad*” i.e., “Ahmad from Yassi”.⁸³ Qilich also brings up that Yassaviy performed *zikr* (chanting) by saying the word “Allah” out loud.⁸⁴

Other treatises written by Yassaviya followers who provide information on the order of Yassaviya, its history and principles is the *Jawahir al-abror min emvaj-i bihar* (A jewel of the righteous from the waves of the ocean) by a Yassaviya follower in the sixteenth century Sultan Ahmed Haziniy;⁸⁵ *Mir'atul Qulub* (Mirror of hearts), by Sufi Muhammad Donishmand Zarnuqi (twelfth–thirteenth century CE);⁸⁶ Xo'ja Isxoq's *Haqiqat al-arifin* (Truth of the sagacious);⁸⁷ the *Hujjat az-zakirin* (Notes from the wise), by Muhammad Sharif Bukhariy;⁸⁸ the *Rashohat ayn al-hayot* (1504; Drops of life), by Maulana Fakhridun Ali ibn Husayn Safiy (1463 CE–1532);⁸⁹ and *Lamahat min nafahat al-quds* (1626; Breezes of Jerusalem), written by Olim Shaykh.⁹⁰

4 Divan-i Hikmat

Most of the manuscripts of the *Divan-i hikmat* were copied in the nineteenth century, several centuries later after the death of Yassaviy. Currently, the oldest copy of the compendium, copied in 1650, is the Egyptian copy discovered by Turkish scholar Mehmet Mahur Tulum.⁹¹ The latter reports that this manuscript was written by calligrapher Mir

⁸² Arabic for “direction.” When Muslims pray, they turn to the qibla, i.e., facing the direction of Kaaba. The shrine of Yassaviy was the qibla for the Central Asian Turkic Muslims.

⁸³ Deweese, “Ahmad Yasavi in the Work of Burhan al-Din Qilich,” 837–879.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Azamat, “Cevahir-ebrar” [Jewels of the learned], 432. See also Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 368–369.

⁸⁶ See Hasan, “Faqrin pokiza narsa bo'lmas!” 244–259.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ See Hasan, “Notes About Some Manuscripts.”

⁸⁹ Safi, *Rashahot ayn ul-hayot*.

⁹⁰ Shaykh, *Lamahot min nafahot ul-quds*.

⁹¹ Tulum, *Hoca Ahmed Yesevi Divan-i hikmet*.

Abdul Qodiriy Khoqandiy on a request by an individual by the name of Mulla Sayyid Akhun.⁹²

In his 2021 article, Iranian scholar Mehdi Rezaei, introduces a manuscript of the *Divan-i hikmat*, containing new *hikmatlar*, written in the Turkic language, which he discovered at the National Library of Iran. According to the scholar, this manuscript consists of 190 pages and was written by a calligrapher named Ismail Zehrasham. The first page of the work is dated 1880 (lunar 1297 in the original) and one of the last pages is dated 1884 (1301), but since these dates are not given along with the name of the calligrapher, Rezaei speculates these newly discovered *hikmatlar* may have been copied earlier than these dates. The scholar believes, in 1509, historian Fazlulloh Ro'zbexon wrote the following in his work entitled *Mehmonnomayi Buxoro* (The guestbook of Bukhara):

*Hazrati Xoja Ahmad Yassaviy kitobini o'qish bu faqirga nasib qilmish. Ilohiy fayz ne'matlaridandir. Bu kitob turkiy tilda yozilgan. Bu kitobdan turli ilmlarning nozik tomonlarini, tasavvuf haqiqatlarini topdim. Shu darajadagi, sulukning maqsadlari, erishilgan darajalarning e'lon qilinishi, vajdaga erishishning haqiqatlari, donishmandlarning tartibu zikri va avliyolar maqomi kabi mavzularda bunday bir kitob hali yozilmagan, deb o'ylayman.*⁹³

Translation:

Reading the book of Hazrat Khwaja Ahmad Yassaviy is a blessing for this poor man. It is one of the blessings of divine grace. This book is written in Turki. In this book, I found the subtleties and truths of mysticism, to such an extent that I believe that no such book has been written yet on such subjects as the goals of, the explanation of the degrees attained, the truths of attaining perfection, the mention of the order of sagacious men, and the status of saints.

Rezaei believes that the “book” mentioned here might be the earlier copy of the compendium. In fact, Central Asian Yassaviya poet So'fi Olloyor (seventeenth-eighteenth century) also refers to a book Yassaviy left to his followers in his work *Sabot ul-ojizin* (Perseverance of the weak): “. . . *Shariatda edi ul oftobe, qolibdur biz ul erdin kitobe* . . .,” meaning “He was the rays of the Sun in shariat, a book has been left to us from him.”⁹⁴ This “book” could well be the same manuscript of the *Divan-i hikmat* Rezaei believes exists.

Today manuscripts of the *Divan-i hikmat* can be found in Saint Petersburg, Kazan, Tashkent, Samarkand, Ürümqi and Istanbul. Current editions of the compendium have been published based on these copies. The first orientalist scholar to publish samples from *Divan-i hikmat* in the West was Armin Vamberi (1832–1913), who published them in Leipzig in 1867 on pages 115–123 in his book entitled *Chagataische Sprachstudien* (Textbook for learning the Chagatai language).⁹⁵

⁹² Eraslan, review of *Hoca Ahmed Yesevi Divan-ı Hikmet Hikmetler Mecmuası Mısır Nüshası—1650*, 280–282.

⁹³ Rezaei, “Divan-ı hikmet’in bilinmeyen,” 561–580.

⁹⁴ Olloyor, *Sabot ul-ojizin*, 49.

⁹⁵ Leiser and Dankoff, “Notes,” 141.

In 1990 Uzbek scholar Ibrohim Haqqul (1949–2022), based on the edition of the words of wisdom attributed to Yassaviy by Turkish scholar Kemal Eraslan (1930–2022), published the first Uzbek edition under the title *Devoni hikmat* in Uzbekistan.⁹⁶ The second Uzbek edition of the compendium was prepared based on the Kazan edition (1836) and published in 1992 by Rasulmuhammad Ashurboy o'g'li in Tashkent.⁹⁷

In 2004 another Uzbek scholar Nodirxon Hasan collected the newly discovered words of wisdom of the sheikh and published it under the title of *Xoja Ahmad Yassaviy: Devoni hikmat. Yangi topilgan namunalar* (Khwaja Ahmad Yassaviy: *Divan-i hikmat. Newly discovered hikmatlar*). For this edition, the scholar used the copies of manuscripts kept in the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhon Beruniy of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Institute of Old Manuscripts named after Hamid Sulaymon, the Museum of Literature named after Alisher Nava'i, the library of the Department of History of Literature of the Institute of Language and Literature named after Alisher Nava'i, the Government Library of the Atatürk Library Fund of the Istanbul, Kokand Literature Museum, Atakhan Azlarkhan of Sayram, Ahmadkhan of Kokand, and Hasan's own private library.⁹⁸

As mentioned before, due to the lack of sources, some scholars question whether the *Divan-i hikmat* belongs to Yassaviy. American Professor Devin Deweese doubts that the sheikh ever wrote the *hikmatlar*, believing the *hikmatlar* belong to Yassaviy's followers.⁹⁹ While it is true that several of the *hikmatlar* can be attributed to Yassaviy poets, this has not affected Fuad Köprülü (1890–1966) as well as other Central Asian Turkic scholars who remain fully convinced of Yassaviy's authorship.¹⁰⁰

There is another factor of the issue that raises such doubts, that is, none of the accounts mentioning Yassaviy claim him writing words of wisdom. For instance, when Nava'i mentions Yassaviy in his *Nasoyim ul-muhabbat*, he does not state anything about Yassaviy dealing with *hikmatlar*. However, when Nava'i writes about Yassaviy's close murid, Hakim Ota, in the same work, the author emphasizes that the latter was well-known for his words of wisdom and provides an example from Hakim Ota's *hikmatlar*.¹⁰¹

At the same time, Nava'i never mentions the renowned Qoraxonid poet Yusuf Khas Hajib (1017 CE–1077 CE) or his work *Kutadgu bilig* (*Wisdom of Royal Glory*) but writes about the contemporary of Yusuf Khas Hajib, i.e., Central Asian poet Ahmad Yugnakiy (twelfth–thirteenth century CE). A similar situation is observed with the Timurid prince, ruler and poet Zahiriddin Muhammad Bobur (1483–1530), who too does not

⁹⁶ See Eraslan. *Divan-ı Hikmet'ten seçmeler*.

⁹⁷ See Yassaviy, *Devoni hikmat*, ed., by Rasulmuhammad Abdushukurov Ashurboy o'g'li.

⁹⁸ Yassaviy, *Divan-i hikmat*, 79–80.

⁹⁹ Deweese, foreword to Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, xxi–xxii.

¹⁰⁰ For example, the name of a poet who lived later than Yassaviy appears in one of the *hikmatlar*. Köprülü, 127–171.

¹⁰¹ Nava'i, 414.

say anything about Hajib in his work *Boburnoma*.¹⁰² It is unclear whether both Nava'i and Bobur had knowledge of Hajib or his work. In conclusion, one should allow such discrepancies while dealing with historical accounts and manuscripts.

Indeed, Yassaviy might not have created the *hikmatlar* in a written form but as oral poems. He did not sit down and compose on paper, because writing poetry was not a priority for his mission. When Yassaviy delivered passionate sermons about Islam and its essence among the crowd, his words of wisdom involuntarily must have burst out into poetry. In fact, Yassaviy's own student, Hakim Ota, uses the verbs *so'ylag'on* (he has said) and *gapiradi* (he talks) in the poem he dedicates to Yassaviy.

Central Asian nomadic Kipchak Turkic people inhabited the territory of present-day Kazakhstan during the time of Yassaviy, and the latter having Turkic roots, was not only familiar with the traditions of the local folk oral poetry, but he was an *aqın* (Kazakh oral poet and singer) himself. Historically, nomadic Turks respected and enjoyed their *aqındar* (plural: *aqın-dar*) who not only would sing songs of advice, but most likely, as we know of the later Kazakh *jiraw* (oral poet and singer) would improvise, or memorize entire epic songs. This was still the case 100 years ago in Central Asia. The mention of Karakalpak poet-singer Berdaq (1827–1900),¹⁰³ Turkmen spiritual leader and poet Magtymguly (1733–1782),¹⁰⁴ Uzbek Sufi poet Boborahim Mashrab (1653–1711) and Kazakh poet-singer Buxar Qarmaqan uuli (1668–1771) alike would suffice here.¹⁰⁵

5 Fitrat's Interpretation of Yassaviy

The article in question, i.e., "Ahmad Yassaviy" has ten subsections in the article: 1. "Ahmad Yassaviy"; 2. "Tasavvuf to'g'risida" (About Sufism); 3. "Yassaviy kim bo'lg'an?" (Who was Yassaviy?); 4. "Hikmatlari"; 5. "Yassaviyning ta'siri" (Yassaviy's influence); 6. "Yassaviyning muhiti" (Yassavi's environment); 7. "Mafkurasi" (His policy); 8. "Yassaviyda tasavvufning darajasi" (The degree of sufism in Yassaviy); 9. "Adabiy qiymati" (Its literary value); and 10. "Yassaviy maktabi shoirlari haqida tekshirishlar" (Research on poets of the Yassaviya school).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² For the English translation, see Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur, *The Baburnama, Memoirs of Babur*.

¹⁰³ Berdaq's main topics were humanity, tolerance and love for one's homeland. See Berdaq, *Saylandi shigharmalar*.

¹⁰⁴ Magtymguly is the father of Turkmen literature. Today his poems are still popular among Central Asians. For his poetry see Magtymguly, *Songs from the Steppes of Central Asia*.

¹⁰⁵ Mashrab was known for his simple poetry on integrity, compassion and justice. He was outspoken on the frauds and tricks of religious leaders, greedy owners and ignorant officials of his time. See Mashrab, *Mehribonim qaydasan*.

Buxar Qarmaqan uuli was a renowned oral poet-singer and an advisor of King Ablai Khan (1711–1781) of the Kazakh Khanate.

¹⁰⁶ Fitrat, *Tanlangan asarlar*.

Fitrat informs us that he had to conduct an extensive research on Yassaviy to write the history of Uzbek literature, a project he was working on at that time.¹⁰⁷ In the first three subsections, the scholar talks about the development of Sufism and the Yassaviya order in Central Asia; Yassaviy's birthplace and where he studied; the *Divan-i hikmat* attributed to the sheikh and issues concerning his authorship of the compendium.¹⁰⁸ Until the original is found, Fitrat states, any research conducted on the linguistic value of the *hikmatlar* is deemed fruitless.¹⁰⁹ In the fifth section, Fitrat suggests that the *hikmat* genre became widespread after Yassaviy passed away.¹¹⁰

In the sixth chapter, Fitrat suggests the reason behind the Yassaviya order being widely spread among the Turkic people, in part due to the order had elements of the population's preceding belief system.¹¹¹ The scholar states that the "worship literature," i.e., reciting religious poetry or aphorisms was not uncommon among Turkic people, i.e., the tenth-century-CE Arabian traveler and poet Abu Dulaf Mise'r ibn Mihalhil al-Hazraji Yanbui mentions in his works entitled *Risalat ul avval* (Risala of the first) and *Risalat ul uhro* (Risala of the last), eye witnessing non-Muslim Kyrgyz people reciting words of wisdom during his travel from Bukhara to China.¹¹² Although Yassaviy's influence was significant among Central Asian Muslims during the time Fitrat lived, the scholar does not elaborate on the sheikh's influence in Central Asia.

Fitrat talks about Yassaviy's renowned disciple Hakim Ota's *hikmatlar*; the scholar informs us that a compendium of the latter's *hikmatlar* was published under the title *Boqirgon kitobi* [Book of Baqirghani] for the first time in 1906 in Kazan.¹¹³ Not all the *hikmatlar* belong to Hakim Ota but to other Yassaviy poets like Shams, Iqoniy, Qul Ubaydi, Qul Ahmad, Mashrab, Xudoydod, Qul Sharif, Faqiriy, Hubbi, Qosim, Tafi, Fikriy, Nasihiy, G'azoliy, Gadoliy, Qul Shafiy, Shuhudiy, Behbudiy, Bobo Mochin and Toj, states Fitrat.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, he speculates the individual named Iqoniy mentioned in the *Boqirgon kitobi* is the same person as Kamol Sheikh, i.e., the "Second Yassaviy". Iqoniy, Fitrat postulates, is likely to have been the author of the *hikmatlar* written under the name of Yassaviy. Both Yassaviy followers Mufti Zinda Ali, author of the 1674 work entitled *Samarat ul-mashoyiq* [Rewards of the elders], and Muhammad Sheikh Siddiqi (*Lamahat min nafahat ul-quds*) from the early seventeenth century, mention Iqoni as "Kamol Sheikh".¹¹⁵ Mufti Zinda Ali informs us that the latter was also called the "Second Yassaviy".¹¹⁶

107 Fitrat, 17.

108 Fitrat, 25.

109 Fitrat, 20.

110 Ibid.

111 Fitrat, 32.

112 Fitrat, 31.

113 Ibid.

114 Fitrat, 33.

115 Ibid.

116 Fitrat, 34.

In the chapter entitled *Maʼfkurasi* (His policy), Fitrat analyzes Yassaviy's teaching based on twenty *hikmatlar* (there are more than 200 *hikmatlar* attributed to the sheikh). He states the sheikh cared for the poor only in order to obtain publicity: Yassaviy's sole plan was to increase the number of his followers.¹¹⁷ In support of his statement, Fitrat presents the following *hikmatlar*:

*Gʻarib, faqir, yatimlarning boshin silab,
Koʻngli qattigʻ xaloyiqdin qochdim mano.
Gʻarib, faqir, yatimlarni qilgʻil shodmon,
Xulqlar qilib aziz joning qilgʻil qurbon.
Gʻarib, faqir, yatimlarni har kim soʻrar,
Rozi boʻlur ul bandadin parvardigor.*¹¹⁸

Translation:

I have been kind to hopeless, destitute and orphans,
And I have run away from the heartless people.
Make hopeless, destitute and orphans happy,
Sacrifice your dear heart by surrounding them.
God is pleased with any human,
Who inquires about hopeless, destitute and orphans.

Fitrat seems to disregard the interchangeable and multiple meanings of the words *gʻarib* (lonely stranger; weak, hopeless or vulnerable), *yetim* (orphan) and, finally, *faqir* (deprived, poor or humble in some cases), which are frequently used in the *hikmatlar*.¹¹⁹ The scholar only recognizes one meaning, “destitute”, thus labeling Yassaviy as a poet of only *yoʻqsul*, (also *yoʻqsil*: miserably poor) as he names it. The latter Uzbek word was an equivalent of the bolshevik term *bednjak* (poor peasant), whom the Soviet regime largely supported.

Fitrat states Yassaviy's advice for poor men to fight against villains is identical to the nonviolence philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), an Indian anticolonial politician.¹²⁰ He provides the following *hikmatlar* to confirm his statements:

*Zolim agar jafo qilsa, “Alloh” degil,
Ilking ochib duo aylab boʻyunsoʻngil.
“Haq” dodinggʻa etmas boʻlsa “gila” qilgʻil,
“Haq” din eshitib bu sozʻlarni aydim mano!*¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Fitrat, 23–24.

¹¹⁹ *Oʻzbek tilining izohli lugʻati*, Gʻ, 437; *ibid.*, Ye, 18–19; *ibid.*, F, 336–337.

¹²⁰ *Oʻzbek tilining izohli lugʻati*, Y, 287.

¹²¹ Ibid.

Translation:

If the villain hurts you, say "Allah,"
 Open up your palms and pray.
 If God does not respond, complain,
 I have heard this from God and tell you now.

Fitrat states that Yassaviy was so eager and preoccupied to increase his popularity, since he did not even notice how illogical he was.¹²²

*Senga jazo yaratganga yolbormading,
 Alloh" debon tunlar turib ingramading.
 Haqiqatdan so'zlar aytim, eshitmading,
 Zolimlarning ilgin uzun qildim mano!*¹²³

Translation:

You have not begged the one who sent you the punishment,
 You have not lamented by saying "Allah" at night sleeplessly.
 I had told you the words of truth, but you did not listen,
 Now I have made the villains stronger than you!

Furthermore, if anyone would ask Yassaviy why poor people should rebel against feudal lords if everything is from God, Yassaviy would not have an answer, and the latter knew no one would dare to question him either, exclaims Fitrat.¹²⁴ He states Yassaviy knew that no one would question him, so preaching such nonsense and advising the poor to become his followers and perform *zikr* (recitation) in order to deal with abuse from the rich was only beneficial to him in collecting followers:

*"Zikr"ni aygil qonlar oqsin ko'zlaringdan,
 "Hikmat" aygil durlar tomsin so'zlaringdan.*¹²⁵

Translation:

Sing *zikr* to the point so that your eyes start bleeding,
 Say *hikmatlar* so that pearls come out of your words.

And:

*Saharlari erta turib qon yig'lagil,
 "Piri mug'on" etagini mahkam tutgil.
 Haqqa oshiq bo'lg'an bo'lsang jondin otgil,*

¹²² Fitrat, 27.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Fitrat, 25.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

*Jondin kechgan chin oshiqalar uryon bo'lar.
 Bu duyoda faqrilikda odat qilg'an,
 Xo'rlik tortib mashaqqatni rohat bilg'an.
 (Qul Kho'jahmad!) yaxshilarga xizmat qilg'an,
 Qiyomat kun andog' kishi sulton bo'lar.¹²⁶*

Translation:

Wake up early in the mornings and cry blood out of eyes,
 Strictly follow your spiritual leader.
 Sacrifice your soul if you truly love God,
 Those true lovers should be bare.
 For them it is the way of life for them to be poor,
 They get pleasure from suffrage.
 And those who have served good people Qul Xo'jahmad alike,
 Such a person shall be a sultan on Judgment Day.

Fitrat states that complacency and ascetic notions in *hikmatlar* were certainly harmful for poor people; and that the complacency and ascetic notions are not only pertinent to Yassaviy's doctrine but to anyone who believes "everything in life happens according to the will of God".¹²⁷

The author urges to fight against Yassaviy's teachings, because they have elements of Buddhism and neoplatonism, and therefore, should be considered harmful in the twentieth century.¹²⁸ He notes that Yassaviy followers were fortunate not to repeat the sheikh's "insanity" by going under the ground at the age of sixty-three,¹²⁹ like Yassaviy did.¹³⁰ "Any nation who chooses to follow" Yassaviy's steps would be definitely "digging a grave for themselves", writes Fitrat.¹³¹ In conclusion, according to the author, although Yassaviy's *hikmatlar* are linguistically significant, he emphasizes the importance of fighting against Yassaviy's influence because Yassaviy's teachings were antirevolutionary, and they propagated asceticism.¹³² The Marxist Soviet doctrine of religion being an "opium" for the people strongly echoes in Fitrat's conclusion.

Dustqorayev is convinced that Fitrat did not, or was not able to, acknowledge the significance of Yassaviy's *hikmatlar* because they lacked profundity.¹³³ If so, Fitrat must have been influenced by Köprülü's view in the *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature* that the *Divan-i hikmat* was primitive. Boltaboyev informs us that Fitrat was interrupted

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 26.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 28.

¹²⁹ This is the age when the Prophet Muhammad passed away. There is a belief that Yassaviy began living underground in order to honor the prophet when he turned sixty-three.

¹³⁰ Fitrat, 28.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Dustqorayev, 8.

by the Soviets after the sixth chapter and he was pressured to interpret Yassaviy and his teachings according to the socialist and anti-religious ideology.¹³⁴ If this is true, then, the Soviet pressure must be a reason why the tone of the article shifts from this section (*Mafkurasi*) onward. According to Qosimov, from 1926, rigorous criticism and actions against Uzbek intellectuals took place. Fitrat's colleague Qodiriy was accused of being a nationalist and arrested in the same year; in 1929, reformers and authors such as Abdurashidxon and Mahmud Hodiev were arrested under the same accusations, too.¹³⁵

The second half of the 1920s and 1930s marked the age of intense propaganda of Soviet ideology by manipulation of literature.¹³⁶ In 1929 Uzbek-Soviet critic Jalil Boybulatov attacked the scholar's works,¹³⁷ including the article about Yassaviy, in an article entitled "O'zbek adabiyotida chig'atoychilik" (Chagataism in Uzbek literature) the Soviet-Uzbek newspaper *Qizil O'zbekiston* (Red Uzbekistan); Boybulatov accused Fitrat of being panturkic and pan-Islamic.¹³⁸ Two years later, the critic published yet another large article addressing Fitrat, entitled *O'zbeklar adabiy merosi bayrog'i ostidagi panturkizm* (Pan-Turkism under the banner of the literary heritage of Uzbeks) in the newspaper titled *Sharq haqiqati* (Truth of the east), where he analyzed Fitrat's earlier works, and again concluded he was anti-Soviet, pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic.¹³⁹ Fitrat self-exculpated in a response-article he wrote in 1929 entitled, "Yopishmagan gajjaklar" (Unfitted sideburns), in the aforementioned newspaper by denying Boybulatov's allegations.¹⁴⁰ At one point, Fitrat even alluded to his disbelief in his religion, i.e., Islam, in the same article. In 1930 Boybulatov wrote another article, which was published in a newspaper titled *Sharq haqiqati*, where he again accused Fitrat of being anti-Soviet.¹⁴¹

Fitrat's contemporaries Cho'lpon and Qodiriy had similar experiences with Soviet critics and censorship. They were, too, labeled as pan-Turkic and pan-Islamic by the Soviet critics. For example, another Uzbek-Soviet critic Olim Sharafiddinov (1903–1943) attacked Cho'lpon in his 1927 article, and Qodiriy was censored for his novel *O'tkan kunlar* (Bygone Days) by Sotti Husayn (1906–1942) in the same year.¹⁴² Cho'lpon wrote a brief article addressing the administration by acknowledging his mistakes, i.e., his

134 Boltaboyev, notes to "Ahmad Yassaviy" in *Tanlangan asarlar*, 179–180.

135 Qosimov, *Maslakdoshlar*, 141.

136 Ibid. Noteworthy is that Fitrat's contemporary, author and educator Abdurahmon Sa'di (1889–unknown), wrote an article, providing general information, on Yassaviy and the *Divan-i hikmat* (1922). Interestingly, Sa'di's article did not draw Soviets attention as much as Fitrat's article. See both Sa'di, Abdurahmon and Abdurauf Fitrat's articles on Yassaviy in *Xoja Ahmad Yassaviy kim edi?*.

137 The dates of birth and death are unknown.

138 Qosimov et al, *Milliy uyg'onish davri adabiyoti*, 233–234.

139 Qosimov, *O'zbek adabiyoti va adabiy aloqalari tarixi*, 308. See also Qosimov, *Maslakdoshlar*, 140.

140 This article was published in the newspaper titled *Red Uzbekistan*, no. 215–216, (September 15-16).

141 Qosimov, *Maslakdoshlar*, 142.

142 Karim, *Abdulla Qodiriy*, 12.

political views in his literary works.¹⁴³ In 1928 another Soviet critic Michael Sheverdin (1899–1994) analyzed Qodiriy’s aforementioned novel.¹⁴⁴ One year later Qodiriy addressed the criticism with a written response where he attempted to vindicate his actions before the Soviets.¹⁴⁵

6 Conclusion

Fitrat, who was a historian, writer, playwright, poet and one of the founders of contemporary Uzbek language and literature, was compelled to condemn the Central Asian Turkic Sufi leader Yassaviy and his teachings in his article entitled “Ahmad Yassaviy”. The scholar was censored and pressured by the Soviets, and he was not the only one who had such experience. Fitrat’s colleagues like Munavvarqori, Cho’lpon, Qodiriy and, Hodiev were not free to express their anti-Soviet views, which caused them their freedom and, eventually, lives. In 1938, like a myriad of others, Fitrat was arrested and executed by Stalin in present-day Uzbekistan.¹⁴⁶

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¹⁴³ Cho’lpon, “E’tiroz,” accessed 11 July 2022, <https://n.ziyouz.com/portal-haqida/xarita/matbuot/jadid-matbuoti/abdulhamid-cho-lpon-e-tiroz-1927>.

¹⁴⁴ Karim, 18.

¹⁴⁵ Qodiriy, “O’tkan kunlar ham O’tkan kunlar tanqidi ustida ba’zi izohlar (1929),” accessed 10 September 2022, <https://n.ziyouz.com/portal-haqida/xarita/matbuot/jadid-matbuoti/abdulla-qodiriy-o-tkan-kunlar-ham-o-tkan-kunlar-tanqidi-ustida-bazi-izohlar-1929>.

¹⁴⁶ See Qosimov, *Maslakdoshlar*, 154–155.

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Kenjegov Kalieva

Central Asian Turkic Cuisine: The Dishes *Qazı*, *Qarta*, *Bıcı*, *Olobo* and *Cörgöm*, in Kyrgyz (With Linguistic Approaches To Their Names)

1 Introduction

Kyrgyz cuisine reflects nomadic culture and traditions.¹ The Kyrgyz led a nomadic life until the second half of the nineteenth century, when Russia began colonizing the region. Up until that time, the main source of nomadic Kyrgyz people's livelihood depended on livestock. Therefore, the cuisine of this nomadic people consisted largely of meat and dairy products. One of the most-important reflections of nomadic culture is a warm reception for guests, which often include slaughtering large and small animals for guests, as well as serving meals mainly made from meat, and drinks such as *kıms/kımız* (fermented mare's milk). Among various dishes, nomadic people use intestines for cooking large and small ruminant animals, also served for guests. The Kyrgyz, for example, make from the intestines of slaughtered sheep a variety of dishes. Among the Kyrgyz, meals from the intestines have their own unique zest, which distinguishes the dish from one region to the next.

This paper consists of sources from written literature, dictionaries, previous field research on Kyrgyz dialects and the preparation of these dishes, provided by Kyrgyz speakers who live in the North and South regions of Kyrgyzstan. The paper is structured as follows: Section two provides a short introduction to Kyrgyz cuisine. The cooking recipes of the dishes *bıcı*, *cörgöm* and *olobo* are presented in section three. The linguistic approaches to the names of the dishes *bıcı*, *cörgöm*, *olobo*, *qazı* and *qarta* are dealt with in section four.

2 Kyrgyz Cuisine

There is little information about Kyrgyz cuisine in early sources, e.g. Chinese[es] sources and Old Turkic inscriptions. However, the eighth-century-CE Orkhon incipations mentioned the general eating habits of Turkic people within the lines, “*Kıyık yiyü tabışğan yiyü olurur ertimiz. Budun boğuzu toğ erti*”.² (lit. We were sitting and eating

¹ Note to the transliteration of Kyrgyz. The transliteration system is based on the Turkish transcription. The transliteration system of Russian is based on the IPA transcription, used by the majority of turcologists. I dedicate to Ilse Laude-Cirautas *Apa* the following culinary and linguistic information on the Kyrgyz dishes *qazı*, *qarta*, *bıcı*, *olobo* and *cörgöm*.

² Talat, *Orhon Türkçesi grameri*, 201.

deer and rabbit (meat). People were full.) From these lines it is understood that the gastronomy of the Turkic nomadic people relied heavily on meat, and this was shown in later sources. In the eleventh-century-CE compendium on Turkic dialects, *Dîvânu lugâti't-Türk*, Maḥmūd al-Kāşğarî also describes specific meat dishes: *kak et* (lit. dried meat) *ķoy kedhirildi* (lit. dried sheep meat);³ *ķazı*: “*yund ķazı:sı yağ*” (“the fat on a horse’s belly is (real) fat”; it is the favourite meat of the Turks).⁴ Yusuf Hass Hajib in his work *ķutadġu bilig*, also of the eleventh century CE, goes so far as to expound on proper eating etiquette. Details on the ingredients and preparation of foods, however, are seldom mentioned.⁵

Travelogs also provide rich descriptions about the livestock husbandary and food culture of the Central Asian Turkic peoples, Anatolian to Volga and Siberian. Among the travelers who have taken note are Ebu Abdullah Muhammed ibn Batuta (fourteenth century CE),⁶ Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (fifteenth century),⁷ and Arminius Vambery (nineteenth century).⁸ Among them, Ibn Battuta observes that the “Turks do not eat bread and solid food . . .”,⁹ while Vambery mentions about Kyrgyz people the following:

Kyrgyz people . . . Even the word “bread” is foreign to them. They feed alone on meat and milk . . . Kyrgyz have gained fame in the production of *ķımız*. In Central Asia to drink *ķımız* is used as a pleasure. I drank *ķımız* a few times. But it is so sour I couldn’t drink it . . .¹⁰

According to Vambery, the main food ingredients of nomadic Kyrgyz people were meat and milk. However, detailed accounts within the above travelogs remain scarce about food in general, most notably about dishes comprising intestines. In the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Kyrgyz treated their honored guests with *qazı*, *ķımız* and horse meat, and therefore most travelogs did not see or taste these intestinal delicacies.

Kyrgyz epics and modern literatures are also one of the mirrors of culture, which describe feasts for weddings, the birth of a children and even funerals. Kyrgyz epics describe in detail the traditions, customs and also hospitality surrounding food ways at special feasts (i.e., *centek toy*,¹¹ *üylönüü toy*,¹² etc.). For instance, “*Kökötöydün aşı*” (lit. The memorial feast for Kökötöy), in the epic *Manas*, describes a great reception of guests attending different national games (i.e., horse racing, wrestling, etc.): “*Kitaydan*

3 Sürücüoğlu, Özçelik, “Divanü lüğat-it Türk’te adı geçen yiyecek ve içecekler.”

4 Kāşğarlı, *Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk*, 444.

5 Memoirs of Zehîr-Ed-Dîn Muhammed Bâbur Emperor of Hindustan.

6 Ibn Batuta Tanci, *İbn Battuta seyahatnamesi*.

7 Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Anadolu Orta Asya ve Timur*.

8 Vambery, *Bir sahte dervişin Orta Asya gezisi*.

9 Ibn Batuta Tanci, *İbn Battuta seyahatnamesi*, 466.

10 Vambery, *Bir sahte dervişin Orta Asya gezisi*, 135; 153.

11 *Centek Toy*: The feast given after the birth of a child.

12 *Üylönüü toy*: The wedding feast.

kelgen kırk elçi, kaynasın şaşpay cep ketti.¹³ (lit. Forty emissaries from China unhurriedly ate their *kayna*.)¹⁴ “*Bir köldöy çık kıldı . . .*” (lit. S(he) made *çık* (soup) like a lake.)¹⁵ “*ottun canında kazı bışırıp cedi . . .*” (lit. S(he) cooked *kazı* next to the fire and ate it.)¹⁶ However, in both epics and in modern literature, there are no descriptions about meals from intestines.

Kyrgyz cuisine—more generally Central Asian Turkic cuisine—varies from region to region according to cultural and geographical factors. Each Turkic people in Central Asia has its own food variety. However, you will find a list of common dishes adopted from neighboring peoples (Dungans, Tajiks, Chinese) who lived along the Silk Road in Central Asia.¹⁷ Some of the common dishes of Central Asian Turks are *manty* /*mantu* (→ Chin. *mántou* 饅頭 “steamed roll;¹⁸ steamed bun; steamed bread”); *pilav*/*palov*/*palo* (→ Per. *palav*/*pilav*;¹⁹ → Hind. *pulāu*/*palāu*;²⁰ → Sansk. *pulāka* “rice ball”); *samsa*/*somsa* (→ Per. *sanbūsa* “A kind of triangular pastry; a pie”²¹); *lahgman*/*laxman* (→ Chin. *lāmiàn* 拉麵 “pulled noodles”) etc.²²

As we mentioned above, Kyrgyz cuisine is distinguished firstly from region to region based on the geographical location of the people. Geographically, Kyrgyzstan is considered a mountainous country. The northern part of Kyrgyzstan is famous for its high mountains like the Tian-Shan and its harsh climate. Therefore, livestock husbandry is typically well-developed in Northern Kyrgyzstan because of its high mountains and wide plateaus. For instance, *at* “mare or horse”, *uy/sıyr* (Kırg. Dial./Kaz) “cow”, *topoz* “buffalo” and also *kozu* “lamb”, *koy* “sheep”, *koçkor* “ram” or *eçki* “goat” all can be found there. All traditions of cooking, dividing and serving meat, are well-developed in the northern part of Kyrgyzstan. In the southern part of Kyrgyzstan, mainly located in the Fergana Valley, animal husbandry is less developed because of the hot climate and landscape of wide, open fields that are more suitable for agriculture. Generally, the Fergana Valley, comprising the southern part of Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, is famous for growing cotton and also for its delicious melons, grapes, watermelons

13 Kalçakeev, “Kökötöydün aşındağı uluttuk kaada-saltttar,” 175–180.

Şule, “Kırgız Türklerinin destanlarında mitolojik unsurlar,” 894–918.

14 *Kayna*: Kind of food (boiled meat).

15 *Çık*: boiled meat soup is mixed with yoghurt.

16 Yıldız, *Manas destanı* (W. Radloff), 472–473.

17 See the articles by Alymbaeva, “Insights from Southern Kazakhstan,” 14–21; Alymbaeva, “Food as Marker of Identity in Chelpek,” 21–31.

Karimova, “Kyrgyz and Uzbeks Negotiate their Food,” 31–49.

18 Accessed 14 December 2022. <https://www.mdbg.net/chinese/dictionary?page=worddict&wdrst=0&wdqb=%E9%A5%85%E9%A0%AD%2C>.

19 Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 254.

20 Hassandoust, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Persian Language*, 285.

21 Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 700.

22 Accessed 14 December 2022. <https://www.mdbg.net/chinese/dictionary?page=worddict&wdrst=0&wdqb=%E6%8B%89%E9%BA%B5>.

and other fruits. We can find more detailed descriptions about fruits and plants from the Fergana Valley to Afghanistan and India in Bâbur's memoirs, *Bâburname*. Bâbur lived in the sixteenth century, was the fifth grandson of Timur and ascended the throne when he was twelve years old (1492). Bâbur wrote his work in Chagatay Turkic,²³ and he described within it a variety of fruits and plants, namely *vakâyi*, growing in the Fergana Valley. For example, he observed the following: "*Ba'zı el ambanı andaķ ta'rîf kılup edilâr kim kavundın özgâ jamî mevagâ tarjîh kılup edilâr . . .*" (lit. "Some people described the mango as 'It can be preferred to all fruits other than melon.'")²⁴ Southern Kyrgyzstan has been strongly influenced by neighboring Uzbek, Tajik and Uyghur cultures. The Fergana Valley, being multicultural, hosts various peoples who rely on similar ingredients for food preparation in terms of vegetables, fruits and spices.

3 *Bıcı, Cörgöm, Olobo*: Cooking Recipes

We find some differences with respect to the cooking and the etymology of the names of these dishes in the south and north parts of Kyrgyzstan. In the north of Kyrgyzstan (i.e., Narın, Isık-Köl) and also in some southern regions (i.e., Alay, Aksı), the dishes *bıcı*, *cörgöm*, *olobo*, *qazı*, and *qarta* are cooked widely. Some Kyrgyz tribes who live in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan do not cook dishes from lamb's intestines. They usually throw out the intestines after the animal is slaughtered. Mehmet Özeren, a philologist and author of *Kırgız Türkçesi ağzlarında ikilemeler* (Reduplications in dialects of Kyrgyz Turkic) and *Tajikistan Kırgız Türkçesi* (Kyrgyz Turkic of Tajikistan), describes in his book the cultural features of Kyrgyz people in Tajikistan beyond the linguistic features of their Kyrgyz dialect. According to his field research, Kyrgyz tribes in Tajikistan adhere to the canons of religion and also to the influence of local cultures.

3.1 *Bıcı*

In Old Turkic inscriptions, dishes with intestines were not mentioned. However, in the eleventh century CE, Turks prepared a kind of sausage called *soktu*, consisting of meat, liver and spices mixed together and filled into a sheep's rectum.²⁵ There are two dishes in Ottoman cuisine, which are very similar to *bıcı* according to their preparation and ingredients: *bağırsak dolması* and *bumbar* (stuffed bowel or rectum). *Bağırsak Dolması* comprises "rice, spices and chopped raw meat are stuffed into a rectum and boiled in hot water". *Bumbar* consists of "bulgur, rumen (section of the stomach) and liver . . . cut

23 See Sertbaş, "Bâbur'un hatıratında geçen bitki adları," 1–2.

24 See Leyden and Erskine, *Memories of Zehir Eddin Muhamed Baber*, 1; 921.

25 Sürücüoğlu and Özçelik.

into cubes and filled into the rectum. It is fried in hot tallow.”²⁶ Dukhan Turks, who are a nomadic group inhabiting the northernmost regions of Mongolia’s Khövsgöl region (the Dukhan variety belongs to the Taiga subgroup of Sayan Turkic), also cook a type of sausage called *hıyma*.²⁷ In Kazakh cuisine, however, there is no sausage type related to *bıci*. However, there are two dishes called *qansoqta* and *äsip* in Kazakh cuisine, prepared by thoroughly washing the lungs, intestines, liver, kidney, heart, rumen and a small amount of meat. *Qansoqta* is prepared as follows: after the slaughter of a young lamb, the middle scarlet blood, saturated with oxygen, is mixed with pieces of heart, liver, kidneys and lungs, as well as seasoning such as salt, onions. The well-washed colon is filled with all this, tightly tied on both sides. After an hour of cooking, the blood sausage is ready; *äsip* is also such a kind of sausage, which is stuffed with entrails, lamb liver, rice and onions, and marinated with salt and pepper.²⁸

Äsip ingredients: lamb intestine; lamb liver; onions; rice; salt, black pepper—to taste.

Kyrgyz people prepare *bıci* generally after slaughtering a sheep and if the intestines are good (without any disease). A kind of sausage called *olobo* (same as *bıci*) is found in some southern regions of Kyrgyzstan. This sausage is made from finely chopped meat that is fried, with rice or flour. In the Talas region, *bıci* is made from lamb brain, fat and blood. This food is called *äsip* among Kazakhs, and in Jambyl, *qulcebes* by Kyrgyz tribes in Kazakhstan.²⁹ However, *qulcebes* is unknown to Kazakhs. *Bıci* also exists in the regions Leylek, Batken, Aksı and Alay (South Kyrgyzstan). However, it is prepared differently across the region.

The simple preparation of *bıci* involves, first, the lamb liver being finely chopped before washed rice and finely cut onions are added, with salt and black pepper to taste. The lamb intestine must be thoroughly washed with salty cold water. The mixed mass is added to the washed intestine and tied with a string. After that, the *bıci* is placed in cold water and cooked over low heat for two to two and half hours separately in a saucepan.

3.2 Cörgöm

The dish *yörgemeç* appears in primary sources of the eleventh century CE. *Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk* describes *yörgemeç* as follows:³⁰ “The paunch and intestines wrapped and folded in the smaller intestines and cooked by roasting”.³¹ *Yörgemeç* is a kind of lamb sausage in all sources except Kyrgyz; in dialects of Turkmen, “this dish [is] made from

26 Ez, “Göktürk devleti'nden Osmanlı'lara, Eski Türklerin mutfak kültürü.”

27 Ragagnin, “How to Make Tasty Hıyma,” 259–266.

28 Mukanmedicarov, Mamay Uulu, Munarbaev and Kaşkınbaev, personal communication with author, 1 March 2019.

29 Beyşekeev, *Kazakstandağı Kırgızdardın tildik özgöçölüktörü*, 54.

30 Al-Kāşğarī, *Dîvânu lugâti't- Türk*, 372.

31 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century*, 966b.

intestines stuffed with minced meat, onions and peppers”; Noghay and Çuvaş, “home-made liver sausage”; Başkır *yurma* “a kind of meat dish, which is made from the lard of the lamb, abdomen and small intestines.”; Tuvan, “food in the form of a sausage, a rope, prepared from intestines, abdomen and meat”³² However, in Anatolian cuisine we find a dish named *kokoreç*, which is also well-known in the Balkans made from lamb intestines wrapped around seasoned offal and grilled.³³

Cörgöm ingredients: intestines, stomach, lungs, internal fats of lamb, and salt, black pepper to taste.

In different regions of Kyrgyzstan, the preparation and weaving methods of *cörgöm* are very different. *Cörgöm* is widespread in the regions of Narın and Isık-Köl. However, in the south it is less popular. *Cörgöm* is cooked in the regions Alay and Aksı, as well as in some villages of Oş.

The preparation of *cörgöm* is as follows: clean the intestines and stomach, rinse thoroughly several times with salty water. Cut the stomach and lungs into long narrow strips, sprinkle with pepper, and leave for a while. Then weave the strips of the stomach and lungs together with the intestines into a braid, and boil for an hour in a *kazan* together with other meat.

3.3 *Qazı* and *Qarta*

Qazı and *qarta* are not mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions. As we above mentioned, *qazı* was described as a favorite food of Turks in *Divānu lugātī't-Türk*, but *qarta* is not mentioned in the same dictionary.³⁴ The words *qazı* and *qarta* are found in most Turkic languages except Azeri. However, *qazı* and *qarta* are considered delicacies in Kyrgyz and Kazakh cuisine, which are served to special guests at various feasts.

Qazı is the abdominal fat of a horse, whereas *qarta* is the rectum of a horse. *Qazı* and *qarta* are traditional delicacies for many Kyrgyz and Kazakhs. It is difficult to imagine a Kyrgyz and Kazakh feast without *qazı* and *qarta*.

According to [both] Kyrgyz and Kazakh informants alike, the horse meat and horse fat are very beneficial to one's health. It is believed that horse meat contains a complete and balanced amino-acid composition of protein, making it a dietary meat, well-absorbed by the body (eight times faster than beef). Horse meat lowers blood cholesterol levels, has a low-fat content, and the fats it contains occupy an intermediate place between animal and vegetable fats due to the lack of a gallbladder in the horse.

Qazı and *qarta* are widely prepared in northern Kyrgyzstan in comparison to southern Kyrgyzstan. For both dishes, after being slaughtered, the horse's colon is first turned

³² Sevortyan, *Ètimologičeskiy slovar' tyurkskix yazıkov*, 236.

³³ *Türkçe sözlük*, 1458b.

³⁴ Al-Kaşğarî, *Divānu lugātī't- Türk*, 444.

inside out, with the fat inside, and then thoroughly washed several times in salted cold water. The *qazı* and *qarta* are then immersed in cold water and brought to a boil. The heat is reduced, and both are left simmering for two hours until tender.

3.4 Olobo

The dish named *olobo* is not found in the Orkhon inscriptions nor in the *Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk*. The word *olobo* as a name of a food does not exist in most Turkic languages. It is difficult to determine in which century the word *olobo* began to be used as a name for a dish in Kyrgyz. On the other hand, 'Alî Şîr Nevâyî's dictionary mentions the word *olobo* as the name of a dish.³⁵

Olobo ingredients: Lungs (usually lamb's lungs), ca. six to eight liters of milk, 500–800 grams of butter, salt to taste

The Kyrgyz *olobo* is sometimes called “lung with milk”. *Olobo* is usually prepared during the slaughter of livestock and boiled together with *bıcı*. Lungs from a lamb are used most. Sometimes this dish is prepared from the lungs of young calves or foals.

According to Bakinova, in most regions of North Kyrgyzstan, the food is called *olobo*; however, in the southern dialects of Kyrgyzstan and in some Kyrgyz dialects in Uzbekistan and in Tajikistan, it is called *kuyulgan öpkö* (lit. lung filled with milk).³⁶ The food *olobo* is cooked widely in Naryn, while in the Chuy and Isık-Köl, it is less known.

The recipe of *olobo*: Rinse whole lung (with larynx and trachea), and soak in cold water. Then thoroughly rinse the lungs by pouring water into it through the trachea and pouring out until the lungs become light. Pour warm salted milk mixed with butter into the washed lungs. Plug the larynx of a filled lung with a piece of meat, and bandage tightly, put it in water, and cook over low heat for about an hour separately in a saucepan. When it is ready, cool the *olobo* slightly, cut into pieces, and serve.

4 Linguistic Approaches to the Names *Bıcı*, *Cörgöm*, *Olobo*, *Qazı*, *Qarta*

The linguistic features of the names of these dishes are also interesting, since the etymology of these words has not yet been mentioned in most field research of Kyrgyz Turkic. There are some etymological approaches to the dishes named *bıcı*, *cörgöm*, *qazı*, *qarta* and *olobo* in etymological dictionaries of Turkic languages. Below, I will present some etymological thoughts on these names.

³⁵ Barutçu, 177.

³⁶ Bakinova, *Leksika dijalektov Kirgizskogo jazyka*, 52.

4.1 *Bıcı*

The etymological background of the word *bıcı* is complicated. This word was found neither in Old Turkic sources nor in other Turkic languages. The word *bıcı* seems to be a deverbal noun derived from the OT verb *bıç-* “to cut”.³⁷ However, it is difficult to accept that the OT word initial *-ç-* has become *-c-* in Kyrgyz because there are no other examples corresponding to this phonetic change. On the other hand, the OT verb *bıç-* “to cut” exists in Kyrgyz in its original form.³⁸

In the dictionary of K. K. Yudakhin, Soviet Turkologist, a scholar of Kyrgyz Turkic and author of *Kirgizsko-Russkij Slovar'* (Kyrgyz-Russian Dictionary), he found the following words that are phonetically close to *bıcı*: 1. *bıc-bıc* “*zvukopodražaniye broženiju, šip-eniju*,” (lit. onomatopoeia for fermentation, hissing, boiling); *bıcı- bıcı* “*zvukopodražaniye ščebetaniju množestva ptic*” (lit. onomatopoeia for many birds); *bıcı* 1. “*seбореја*” (lit. seborrhea: skin disease, one of the symptoms of which is a rash on the head); 2. “*etn. slovo, vstrečajuščesja v zagovore ot ukusa jadovityx zmej ili*” (lit. ethnic word used to dispel a bite of poisonous snakes or insects).³⁹ The etymological explanation of the food name *bıcı* is already complicated. As we see, phonetically, the word *bıcı* is related to the above-mentioned words *bıc-bıc*, *bıcı- bıcı*, *bıcı*, however, the semantics of the word is different from other dish names.

In Kalmyk, there exists the verb *biljelxe* “*raspljuščivat', davit' (čto-libo mjagkoe)*” (lit. flatten, crush (anything soft)).⁴⁰ Semantically, the word *bıcı* is a cognate of the verb *biljelxe*, referring to the act of crushing/chopping something soft, for instance, liver, a main ingredient of the dish *bıcı*.

4.2 *Cörgöm*

The word *cörgöm* is a deverbal noun derived from *cörgö-* → OT *yörge-* → *yör-* → *ör-* “to plait”: plus the formative *-M*.⁴¹ The OT verb *yörge-* has several meanings: “to wrap (something) up”; to swaddle (an infant). The verb survives in NE Tuv. *cörge-*; SE Tar. *yörge-*. According to Clauson, the deverbal noun *yörgek*, “wrappings; swaddling clothes”, is not an ancient word and survives in some NE, NC, NW languages.⁴² The other noun *yöre*,

³⁷ See the verb *bıç-* in details in: Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 292b; al-Kāşğarî *Dîvânü Lugâti't-Turk*, 584; Räsänen, *Versuch eines Etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkischen Sprachen*, 73a; Sevortyan, *Étimologičeskij Slovar' Tjurkskih Jazykov*, 158.

³⁸ Judaxin, *Kirgizsko-Russkij slovar'*, I–II, 173a.

³⁹ Judaxin, *Kirgizsko-Russkij slovar'*, I–II, 170a.

⁴⁰ Munieva, *Kalmysko-Russkij slovar'*, 99b.

⁴¹ Al-Kāşğarî, 983; Clauson 965b; *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, 276a; Räsänen, 208b; Seydakatov, *Kyrgyz tilinin kyskaça etimologijalyk sözdügü*, 102.

⁴² Clauson, 965b.

“surroundings, environment”, is also derived from *yör-*.⁴³ The word *yöre* survives in this sense only in the SW Turkic Anatolian Turkish. In *Dîvânu lugâtî't- Turk*, there is an example with the verb *yör-*: *ura.gut oğlın beşiktin yördi*.⁴⁴ “The woman untied her son from the cradle”. The dish *cörgöm* was not mentioned in old manuscripts, though. On the other hand, in ‘Alî Şîr Nevâyî’s dictionary *Muĥâkemetü’l- luġateyn*, a so-called dish *örgemeç* → *yörge* occurs.⁴⁵ In some Turkic languages, the word *cörgöm* is attested with some phonetic differences: Kum. *yörme*; Nog. *yürme*; Baş. *yurma*; Kbal. *cörme*; Tuv. *çöreme*; Kaz. *cörgöm*; Alt. *d’örgöm* (*törgöm*).⁴⁶ In Kazakh Turkic dictionaries, the word *cörgem* appears with the translation “*svitaja kiška melkogo bitogo*” (lit. coiled intestine of beaten small cattle, with *beaten* here referring to the process of grinding meat); however, the youngest Kazakh informants do not know about this dish.⁴⁷

In Kyrgyz Turkic there are deverbal verbs that derive from the verb *yör-*: *cörmö-*, “to sew over the edge”; *cörmölö-*, “to crawl”; deverbal noun: *cörgömüş*, “spider”.⁴⁸

4.3 *Qazı* and *Qarta*

The word *qazı* is found in some Turkic languages: Kaz. *qazı*, “horse sausage”,⁴⁹ Uzb. (in some dialects) *qazı*, “the human abdominal fat”,⁵⁰ Tar. *kesi*; Hak. *hazı*; Yak. *Hasä*, “Bauchfett” (lit. abdominal fat).⁵¹

There is another word *bee qarta* (the name of the dish) in the region Tian-Shan. The word *qarta* exists in neighbouring as well as other Turkic languages: Kaz.,⁵² NUyg. *qarta*,⁵³ Uzb.⁵⁴ *qart* II. -*dumba* “pure fat of tail”, Yak. *xarta*.⁵⁵

According to Seydakmatov, the etymology of *qarta* probably goes back to the word *qart*, “rugose”.⁵⁶ On the other hand, Radloff and Räsänen argue that the root of the word *qarta* is closer to the word *qarın* “stomach”.⁵⁷ In Hakas Turkic language and in its

43 Clauson, 956a.

44 Al-Kāşġarî, 375.

45 Barutçu, ‘Alî Şîr Nevâyî: *Muĥâkemetü’l- luġateyn*, 177.

46 Verbitskij, *Slovar’ Altajskogo i Aladagskogo narečij Tjurkskogo jazyka*, 369; Sevortyan, 235.

47 Bektaev, *Kazahsko-Russkij slovar’*, 207.

48 Judaxin, 266a.

49 Bektaev, 264.

50 Sevortyan, 189.

51 Räsänen, 243b.

52 Bektaev, 279.

53 Nacip, *Yeni Uygur Türkçesi sözlüğü*, 224b.

54 Borokov, Akabirova and Magrufova, *Uzbeksko-Russkij slovar’*, 203a.

55 Räsänen, 239a.

56 Seydakmatov, 136.

57 Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, 199; Räsänen, 239a; Sevortyan, 316.

dialects, the word *qarta* exists with various phonetic features: *harta*; *hartqa*; *harha*.⁵⁸ According to Sevortyan, the Hakas variants show that the root of *hartqa* goes back to *qartka*.⁵⁹ Sevortyan also mentioned Ganiev's explanation, who cites the word *qarta* as being derived from the word *qar* and the suffix *-ta*; however, the function of the suffix *-ta* is not shown in his work.⁶⁰ For example, the suffix *-tA* in Kyrgyz Turkic is a deverbal suffix. According to him, the word *qar* could be a kind of verb, but this is very unlikely.

4.4 *Olobo*

The etymology of the word *olobo* has not yet been fully understood. Doerfer cites the word *ölbä ~ ulba*, “sheep's heart and liver, hashed and fried in oil; kind of food”; the word *ölbe* could be related to *ölbä* “The small cup into which milk or yogurt is put” in the dialects of Turkish.⁶¹ There is a word *albā*, “milk; mallows” in Persian.⁶² According to Doerfer's theory, based on the phonetic and semantic aspects of the word, *olobo* in Kyrgyz could have derived from the Persian word *albā*.

5 Conclusion

In this chapter the dishes *bıci*, *olobo*, *cörgöm*, *qazı*, *qarta* in Kyrgyz (also in different regions) were presented and compared with their analogues in other Turkic languages. The main aim of this chapter was to study the existence, preparation and naming of these dishes in different regions of Kyrgyzstan and also in neighbouring Turkic cuisines. The etymology of the names of the dishes has also been emphasized.

The main ingredients of these dishes are lamb and horse intestines, respectively in all regions of Kyrgyzstan. However, the preparation and naming of these dishes are quite different in South and North Kyrgyzstan. The linguistics of the recipes for these dishes also receive particular attention.

- *Bıci*: This dish exists both in south and North Kyrgyzstan but not in Kazakh cuisine. In some dialects of Kyrgyz in the Fergana Valley, the dish is called *olobo*, *äsip* or *qulcebes*. The preparation of this dish differs in the southern regions of Kyrgyzstan. For example, in the Talas region, brain, fat and blood of a lamb are mainly used. In contrast, the main ingredients of this dish in most regions of northern Kyrgyzstan

⁵⁸ Baskakov, *Hakassko-Russkij slovar'*, 277b, 278a.

⁵⁹ Sevortyan, 316.

⁶⁰ Sevortyan, 316.

⁶¹ Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, II, 110; DD 1107.

⁶² Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 92a.

are liver of lamb, rice and onion. There are many etymological theories of the name *bıcı* (see 5.1.). The food name *bıcı* was not mentioned in old Turkic sources.

- *Cörgöm*: The dish is more popular in North Kyrgyzstan, but in some regions of south Kyrgyzstan, it is also known. The name *cörgöm* occurs with different phonetic features in other Turkic languages: Kum. *yörme*; Nog. *yürme*; Baš. *yurma*; Kbal. *cörme*; Tuv. *çöreme*; Kaz. *cörgöm*; Alt. *d'örgöm*. The word *cörgöm* is derived from the OT. verb *yörge-* → *yör-* → *ör-* “to plait”. The food *cörgöm* appeared in ‘Alî Şîr Nevâyî’s dictionary *Muḥâkemetü’l- luğateyn* but not in *Dîvânu lugâti’t- Turk*.
- *Qazı/qarta*: is considered a delicacy by the Kyrgyz and also by some other Turkic peoples. *Qazı/qarta* is served to guests of honour only on special days or events. In *Dîvânu Lugâti’t- Turk*, *qazı* was mentioned as a favorite food of Turks. In the Kipchak dialect of Uzbek, *qazı* appears with the meaning “the human abdominal fat”. The word *qazı* with different phonetical variants is found in other Turkic languages: Tar. *kesi*; Hak. *hazı*; Yak. *Hasä*, “Bauchfett” (lit. A abdominal fat). The word *qarta* appears in other Turkic languages: NUyg. *qarta*, Uzb. *qart* II. *-dumba*, “pure fat of tail”, Yak. *harta*, Hak. *harta*, *hartqa*, *harha*.
- *Olobo*: is known in most regions of northern Kyrgyzstan. The food is called *olobo*, however, in southern dialects of Kyrgyzstan, and also in some Kyrgyz dialects in Uzbekistan and in Tajikistan, it is called *kuyulgan öpkö*. The food *olobo* was mentioned in ‘Alî Şîr Nevâyî’s dictionary *Muḥâkemetü’l- luğateyn* but not in *Dîvânu lugâti’t- Turk*.

Abbreviations

Alt	Altaj Turkic
Baš	Bashkurt Turkic
Chin	Chinese
Hak	Hakas Turkic
Hind	Hindi
Kaz	Kazakh Turkic
Kbal	Karačaj-Balkar Turkic
Kum	Kumyk Turkic
Kyr	Kyrgyz Turkic
Nog	Noghay Turkic
NE	Northeast subgroup Turkic languages
NW	Northwest subgroup Turkic languages
NC	North-Central subgroup Turkic languages
NUyg	New Uyghur Turkic
OT	Old Turkic
Per	Persian
Uzb	Uzbek Turkic
Sansk	Sanskrit

SE	Southeast subgroup Turkic languages
Tuv	Tuvan Turkic
Yak	Yakut Turkic

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Elmira Köchümkulova

Continuity and Change in Kyrgyz Oral and Cultural Traditions: The Case of *Koşoks*, Funeral Laments

1 Introduction

I met Toktokan *eje* for the first time in 2011 during my fieldwork in Ala-Buka district,¹ southern Kyrgyzstan. She was known among the villagers as a *koşokçu*, a person, traditionally a woman, who sings *koşoks*, funeral lamentation songs. Our first meeting was a bit underwhelming, as Toktokan Chancharova refused to sing lamentation songs for me due to having a sore throat. I ended up writing down some lines from her lamentation songs that she had written in her own notebook. However, just writing down the words of lamentation songs does not do them justice. The lamentations' melody, rhythm and pauses, as well as the singer's body language are very important for understanding this tradition. Our second meeting occurred in 2012 when Toktokan *eje* arrived at Bishkek to see a doctor and called me wondering whether I wanted to meet again. I jumped at the chance to record her lamentation songs and invited her for dinner at my house. This time I recorded her *koşok* lamentations on tape, but Chancharova still was not satisfied. She told me that to record her performance, one needs to record her during the actual funeral ceremony.²

The *koşok*, or funeral lamentation, is one of the oldest and most-enduring genres of Kyrgyz oral poetic and musical tradition. Kyrgyz funeral etiquette requires the Kyrgyz women to sing the *koşok* lamentations at the funeral and subsequent memorial feasts of close family members. Since death is inevitable and comes to every family at some point or another, these *koşok* lamentations are heard by almost every Kyrgyz person throughout his or her life. Regardless of how omnipresent *koşok* lamentations may seem to be, these funeral lamentation songs have been greatly understudied in comparison to other forms of oral poetic and musical traditions such as heroic epics, folk songs and improvisation songs of *tökmö akındar* (improvisational poets). For example, only a few books have been published on *koşok* lamentations. The notable sources include a volume on *koşok* lamentations published in a 1998 series entitled "Folk Literature", and a volume on *koşok* songs of Pamiri Kyrgyz living in Turkey published by the University of Central Asia.³ There are some unpublished archival materials and unpublished notes by inde-

¹ Her full name is Toktokan Chancharova. *Eje* is a term of respect for an older woman or older sister.

² Field Notes, 10 November 2011, Bishkek.

³ E.g., Kayipov, *Funeral Laments*; Akmataliev, *Koşoktor*. It is also worth mentioning an MA thesis by Maureen Pritchard, *Legends Borne by Life*, in which she explored the connections between myth and *koşok*.

pendent scholars who documented *koşok* lamentations, however, those sources contain just the text of lamentation songs. As mentioned in the opening vignette, documenting just the text of the *koşok* lamentations fails to convey all its attributes and features.⁴ On the other hand, some ethnographic scholarship that focuses on funeral rituals give accounts of *koşok* lamentations but do not foreground lamentation songs as the focus of their analysis.⁵ The apparent gap in scholarship has inspired this ethnographic study on *koşok* lamentations, which shifts the focus of scholarly inquiry from text to performative and communicative aspects of lamentation songs in Kyrgyz culture.⁶

This paper focuses on continuity and change in the *koşok* tradition, which became apparent during my ethnographic field research in various regions of Kyrgyzstan in 2003, 2011 and 2013. As a continuous form, the tradition of singing lamentation songs seems to be one of the oldest forms of oral tradition among the Kyrgyz, much like other Central Asian Turkic people in general. For example, Alva Robinson demonstrated that “[*Joqtau/Košok*] songs follow in the same tradition exemplified in the Kül Tigin Inscription, as mentioned above. A close comparison between these songs and the Kül Tigin Inscription, more specifically, reveals that their structure has been preserved and adhered to since at least the eighth century.”⁷ At the same time, this paper sheds light on the many *koşokçular*, or singers of *koşok* songs, who univocally stated that the tradition of singing lamentation songs has been waning in recent years. (*koşokçu(s)*, *koşokçular* (pl.))

Thus, this paper helps make sense of this change toward a centuries-old tradition, by first answering why the lamentation songs have remained important. Then, this paper delves into the diversity of lamentation songs and describes the features that separate the *koşok* from other types of lamentation songs before explaining the structure of a *koşok* and its functions as seen from the perspective of those who sing them. The final section of this paper discusses external factors, such as Soviet modernization policies, post-Soviet Islamization, and globalization, as well as internal factors, such as taboos associated with performing *koşok* lamentations, outside of the funeral context, that have played parts in the decreased tradition of singing *koşok* lamentations.

4 Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 40.

5 e.g., Jacquesson, “Sore Zones”; Hardenberg, “How to Overcome Death.”

6 In 2014, I published my ethnographic data as a book in Kyrgyz language. *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot bolot: Eldik koşoktor jana koşokçular* (Respect graces the living and lamentation graces the dead: *Košoks* and *koşokçular*).

7 Robinson, “The Structure of Turkic Songs of Lament,” 367.

2 Lamentation Graces the Dead

Chancharova explained the following about her father's passing:

My father passed away when he was 73. My father used to say, "A good daughter laments her mother's or father's passing with a *koşok*, while a bad daughter cries in vain",⁸ and my mother would say that singing *koşok* lamentations is a way of honoring a deceased person. When my father passed away his relatives came to the funeral. They told us that our father was a very good man and that we should sing a *koşok* well to honor him. I grew up hearing how my mother would sing a *koşok*. We would move with our livestock from pasture to pasture. And if a settlement that we were passing by had women mourning their deceased, my mother would sing a *koşok* when we were approaching the settlement. This exposure to the *koşok* singing tradition coupled with the immense grief I was feeling for my late father made the words of *koşok* lamentations pour out of my mouth.⁹

The idea of singing *koşok* lamentations as a way of honoring the dead came up time and again throughout my fieldwork. Just like Charchanova told me in her interview excerpt above, many subjects of this field research mentioned some traditional Kyrgyz proverbs conveying the idea that singing lamentation songs is a token of respect paid to the deceased person. For example, one of the most frequently mentioned sayings states, "Respect graces the living, lamentation graces the dead." This proverb can be seen as a formula for what it means to be Kyrgyz: A Kyrgyz should strive to gain and enjoy respect while alive, and the lamentation songs will be the token of respect for him or her when one has passed.

In fact, the act of singing a *koşok* can be argued to be one of the oldest rituals of the Kyrgyz people and more broadly the Turkic people of Central Asia. For example, the oldest examples of the lamentation songs are found in the Orkhon-Yenisei runic writings dating back from the eighth to eleventh century CE.¹⁰ Moreover, Kyrgyz traditional

8 That is how she phrased it in Kyrgyz: "*Jakşy kız atası, enesi ötsö joktoyt, jaman kız şoloktop oturat.*"

9 Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 98–114.

10 For example, the collection of Orkhon-Yenisei runic writings published by Ilim and edited by Kudai-bergenov and Sydykov, *Orkhon-Enisei*, 68, contains the following lines that read as lamentation songs:

Alas, I lost my land and water
I lost you with sadness
I lost my people, my sun, and my friends,
I am 67, I did not see it,
I lost my relatives in this hostile land.

[*Jerimden, attigining, suumdan airyldym,
Mung menen sizderden airyldym,
Jurtuman, küñümdön, kurdaşymdan airyldym,
Jaşym altymys jeti, körüüdön kaldym,
Jat jerden tuugandaryman airyldym.*]

For a more detailed analysis of some of the Orkhon-Yenisei runic text see Stebleva, *Turk*.

epics such as *Manas*, considered to be encyclopedias of Kyrgyz culture and history, are likely to have originated from lamentation songs.¹¹ The similarities between the structure, vocabulary, style and performative aspects of lamentation songs and heroic epics support the hypothesis that heroic epics started as lamentation songs during the funeral of a particular person and consecutive memorial feasts in his or her honor.¹² Then, the descriptions of the person's deeds and achievements were passed orally from people to people and from generation to generation to eventually become the heroic epics as we now know them. Thus, the fact that *koşok* lamentations emerged as early as the eighth century CE and that they are still practiced now demonstrates a continuity of tradition as a cultural practice, funerary ritual and verbal art through many generations.¹³

3 Diversity of Lamentation Songs

Koşok lamentations are not the only form of lamentation songs. In this section, I outline the diversity of lamentation songs practiced by the Kyrgyz people as well as other Central Asian Turkic people. The word *koşok* comes from the verb stem *koş-*, which means “to add, to put together or improvise”.¹⁴ The root of the word highlights the improvisational nature of the *koşok*, where words are put together to sing and cry about the deceased. In Kyrgyzstan today, *koşok* lamentations continue to be composed and preserved in oral form, primarily by Kyrgyz women. *Koşok* lamentations are performed by female relatives of the deceased (i.e., by daughters, sisters, aunts, sisters-in-law, mothers and wives). *Koşok* lamentations describe the life of the departed, their good deeds, positive traits, special skills, achievements, service to people, care, etc. *Koşok* lamentations also reflect the feelings of the lamenters, their grievances, sorrow and despair, as well as care and love for deceased family members. Thus, *koşok* lamentations contain a section of praise for the deceased person, words of farewell and wishes for an eternal after-

11 Akmatalliev, *Koşoktor*.

12 This hypothesis was formulated in Akmatalliev (1998) upon highlighting the similarities in structure, vocabulary and performative elements of *koşoks* and heroic epics. The *koşoks* and the heroic epics were analyzed from a comparative perspective by Egemberdieva and Akmatalliev, *Tarihy*, 2012, and Kayipov, *Funeral*. Prof. Laude-Cirtautas demonstrated that the eulogy to Kül Tigin was written in the same spirit as the unwritten heroic epics of the Turkic peoples. See chapter one of this volume.

13 The *koşok* lamentation songs are likely to be even older, but the sixth century CE is the timeframe we can refer to with certainty based on the available archeological data.

14 Pritchard, *Legends Borne by Life*, 5, notes that “*Koshok* is a noun, and it is described by the verb *koshy*.” But then mistakenly claims that “The word *koshy* represents the first person ending of a Russian verb tagged onto a Kyrgyz word.” These words have no connection to the Russian language. Unfortunately, she repeats the same mistake by tracing the roots of the word *koş* to Russian in her more recent article (Pritchard, “Creativity and Sorrow”).

life.¹⁵ Koşok lamentations are performed not only during the day of the funeral but also at other important remembrance events for the deceased, such as the *beyşembilik* (the first Thursday after death), *kırk* (the fortieth day after death), the first *Kurman Ait* after the funeral (Eid al-Adha), *jıldık* (funeral's one-year anniversary), *aş* (the final memorial feast for the deceased person) and during gravesite visits, called *ziyarat*.

Traditionally, koşok lamentations are performed on two occasions. Besides funeral ceremonies, the lamentations are also sung by a bride's female relatives during wedding ceremonies.¹⁶ Although there are many similarities between these two types of koşok lamentations (e.g., both are performed by women; performed without an accompaniment of a musical instrument; constructed around the idea of bidding farewell;¹⁷ performed to praise the subject to whom the koşok is dedicated; dominated by a sentiment of sorrow; and involves acts of wailing and shedding tears), in this paper I focus solely on the koşok lamentations performed at funeral ceremonies.¹⁸

Besides koşok lamentations, which are performed by women, there are lamentation songs performed by men. For example, there is a husband's lamentation song called "Güljarım" for his deceased wife, but it seems to have ceased to be practiced.¹⁹ In modern funeral ceremonies, men start wailing when approaching the house where the funeral is taking place.²⁰ This wailing, called *ökürüü*, used to be a form of a lamentation song similar to a koşok. However, *ökürüü* has been reduced to a handful of two-liners (e.g., "my dear mother/father/brother/uncle, where will I see you again?"),²¹ which are repeated until the men approach the male relatives of the deceased who are reciting *ökürüü* beside the yurt where the body is placed. Men express their condolences to the

15 E.g., the koşok performer may wish the soul of the deceased to rest in Paradise. For other common wishes and verbal formulas to express condolences, please see Köchümkulova, *Tiriünün körkü sıy bolot*, 61–89.

16 A traditional Kyrgyz wedding ceremony consists of several feasts. The first feast called *kız uzatuu* (lit. saying farewell to/seeing off a girl), happens when the groom's family visits the bride's family to take the bride to the groom's house. *Koşoktor* are performed during this feast. After the bride is taken to the groom's house, there is another feast conducted by the groom's family. *Koşoktor* are not performed during this feast.

17 In the funeral ceremony context, *koşoktor* bid farewell to the deceased person who has left this world, and in the wedding context, koşok lamentations bid farewell to the bride who was leaving the house. It may sound interesting and bizarre that the farewell to a deceased person and to an alive person was expressed with the same ritual. My interlocutors explained to me that back in the day, a married woman had very limited capacity to visit her own family because the traveling back then was not as easy as it is these days. Thus, once married a woman would see her parents and relatives very rarely.

18 At the same time, many factors contributing to the waning importance of koşok lamentations in the funeral ceremonies are also affecting the koşok lamentations sung for brides. I am solely focusing on the former due to the space limitations of the paper.

19 During my fieldwork, my interlocutors mentioned "Güljarım" as a particular type of *koşoktor* performed by a widower. However, I could not find anybody who has performed it.

20 Hardenberg, "How To Overcome Death."

21 Kyrgyz: "*Esil kayran enekem/atakem/abakem/tayakem oy, emi kaydan körömün oy?*".

male relatives using such words as, “May the earth where he/she lies be soft, may the earth be silk for him/her”.²²

Another type of the lamentation song is known as *joktoo*.²³ These lamentation songs are composed and sung by Kyrgyz *tökmö akındar*, improvisational oral poets. Unlike ordinary women who sing *koşok* lamentations in a private setting, these professional oral poets compose new *joktoos* and sing them at the funerals of well-known public figures such as singers, poets, writers and state officials, and following tragic events involving the death of many people. *Joktoos* are usually performed with an accompaniment of a musical instrument such as *komuz*.²⁴

Lamentation songs are also performed by other Turkic nations of Central Asia. For example, Kazakh lamentation songs are called *joqtau* and are very similar to the Kyrgyz *koşok* and *joktoo*.²⁵

Thomas G. Winner summarized the Kazakh lamentation songs as follows:

The song of mourning, or weeping song (*dżoqtau* or *dżoqtaghan dżyr*), has a great number of variations. According to tradition, the closest female relative of the deceased observed mourning ceremonies for one year; and the wives, daughters, sisters or the mother of the deceased were obliged to perform a *dżoqtau* at every sunrise and sunset. Men performed mourning rites only on extraordinary occasions such as the commemoration of an important tribal dignitary at special mourning feasts. The *dżoqtau*, which was frequently improvised, consisted of two basic parts: the enumeration of the good qualities and the riches of the deceased and the expression of grief over his death.²⁶

In Uzbek language, the lamentation songs are referred to as “crying” or “sorrow songs”. The word *koşok* also exists in Uzbek, but it refers to songs in general. Lamentation songs among Uzbeks are also performed primarily by women.²⁷

The diversity of lamentation songs in Kyrgyz funerary ceremonies as well as the existence of similar lamentation songs in the cultural practices of the Kazakh and Uzbek people lies beyond the scope of this paper. A comparative study across lamentation

22 Laude-Cirtautas, “Blessings.”

23 *Joktoo* stems from the word *jok*, meaning absent. Thus, *joktoo* may be translated as “stating the absence,” “noting the absence,” etc. These *joktoo* songs are sometimes mistakenly thought of as *koşoktor*, e.g., Pritchard, *Legends Borne by Life*, 6–7.

24 *Komuz* is a traditional wooden musical instrument with three strings.

25 Note the similarity with the *joktoo* of the Kyrgyz people. The terms *joqtau* (Kazakh) and *joktoo* (Kyrgyz) are identical words and differ only in pronunciation. Usadova, “Obrjadovoe”, and Galina, “Bashkirsaja”, compared the Kazakh lamentation songs with similar traditions of Altai and Bashkir people respectively. Usadova’s (2013) description of the Kazakh lamentation songs shows similarity with Kyrgyz *koşok* lamentations. She also notes that there are no lamentation songs among the Altai people (who are linguistically and culturally like Kazakh people). Thus, according to the beliefs of the Altai people, the relatives of the deceased person must not shed tears, as it hinders the successful passage of the deceased person’s soul to the “other world”.

26 Winner, *The Oral Art and Literature*, 44.

27 Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*, 15.

songs of different Turkic people of Central Asia or across different genres of lamentation songs will be a focus of a separate paper.

4 Functions Lamentation Songs Perform

One of the earliest anthropological approaches to analyzing rituals was through functionalism, which posits that funeral ceremonies and practices offset the negative effects that death has on the social fabric by offering psychological relief.²⁸ The efficacy of *koşok* lamentations and the Kyrgyz funerary practices in offsetting the negative effects of death on social fabric was also analyzed from the functionalist perspective.²⁹ Such functionalist approaches often overlook the emic views on what *koşok* lamentations do in the context of funerals. That is the gap that this chapter strives to fill.

Koşok lamentations have an evident performative aspect.³⁰ Lamentation songs have an audience and are always directed toward the audience. For example, although the *koşok* lamentations are sometimes sung nonstop during a funeral, they intensify as siblings, friends, colleagues, and relatives of the deceased arrive, and become quieter when newcomers are not expected. *Koşok* lamentations create an ambience, a shared sorrowful state of mind for those who come to the funeral.

Many of the subjects stressed the communicative function of *koşok* lamentations, as the lamentation songs are supposed to communicate through the lyrics who the deceased person was and what good he or she did.³¹ *Koşok* lamentations also reflect the relationship of those singing the *koşok* lamentations to the deceased. The *koşok* lamentations use terms that denote kinship and endearment.³² Depending on the words used to denote kinship and terms of endearment, those present at the funeral could pinpoint how the performer was related to the deceased – as a daughter, sister, aunt, etc. It is not uncommon for attendees to easily determine and point out whether a particular *koşok* lamentation was dedicated to a father, a mother or sibling, etc.

Although the descriptions of the deceased person in the *koşok* lamentations focus on mostly positive traits and noble deeds of the deceased, it was and still is important for *koşok* lamentations to remain truthful. For example, I documented a *koşok* that portrayed a man who married many times throughout his life. The *koşok* singer noted that the deceased person was known to be honest and that is why she had to be truthful in her *koşok* lamentations. There are also cases of *koşokçular*, i.e. *koşok* singers, who

²⁸ cf. Malinowsky, *Magic*, 5.

²⁹ Hardenberg, “How To Overcome Death.”

³⁰ More on the performative aspects of funerary and other rituals, see Rothenbuhler, *Ritual Communication*.

³¹ cf. Foley, “Ritual Theory.”

³² cf. Laude-Cirtautas, “Terms of Endearment.”

refused to glorify the deceased person because, from the *koşokçular*'s perspective, the deceased did not do much good in his or her life.³³ Thus, the quality of *koşok* lamentations reflects to a certain extent the quality of the deceased person's life. When a person lived a good life, accomplished many good deeds and served the community, then the *koşok* songs would celebrate that.

Koşok lamentations are also a way to communicate requests, demands and assign blame to anyone attending the funeral. For example, an excerpt from a collection of *koşok* lamentations reveals a mourning woman addressing the men outside the yurt who wanted to roll up the yurt's felt carpets so that more people could hear her *koşok*:³⁴

Don't roll the felt around the yurt,
Don't come and smile in front of me,
Who are you to roll the felt?
Who are you to smile at me?
Was my uncle your enemy for you to do so?³⁵

Upon hearing these lines, the men who were preparing to roll up the felt carpets quickly retreated. Another example comes from an interlocutor in Alai district. She was upset that one of her relatives did not come to the funeral of her brother who had passed away recently. So, when a relative finally came to express condolences, she started to sing the following lines:

The rain made the soil wet,
My younger brother passed away in spring,
Who has come to express condolences now?
The thunder made the soil wet,
My younger brother passed away in fall,
Who is coming to express condolences in winter?³⁶

33 Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 172.

34 I need to give a bit of a context here for those who are not familiar with the Kyrgyz funeral settings. The mourning women who sing the *koşoktor* sit in the yurt. Yurt is a traditional dwelling of the Kyrgyz people that consist of a wooden frame, which is wrapped with felt carpets. Rolling up the felt carpets outside the wooden frame removes one layer of the yurt, thus making the *koşok* lamentations sung inside the yurt more audible to those outside the yurt.

35 *Tuurduktu türböngör,*
Tushuma kelip külböngör,
Tuurdugum türgüdüi,
Tushuma kelip külgüdüi,
Dushman bele bai akam?

Recorded from Ibraeva Asılkan, Budalık village, Alai district, Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 18.

36 *Jamgır jaap num boldu,*
Jazında ölgön ukama,
Jankı kelgen kim boldu?
Kün kürkürop num boldu,

Upon hearing this, the relative of my interlocutor realized that she needed to explain why she could not come to the funeral. Similarly, those who come to the funeral may communicate their feelings toward the relatives of the deceased. For example, Farida Chynybaeva from Talas recalled the following situation that happened to her at the funeral:

Nowadays,³⁷ people do not show much respect to the deceased. Recently, I attended a funeral. In the past, the widow would sing *koşok* by facing the wall of the yurt and without showing her face to the visitors. At that funeral, the lamenting widow and her daughters were sitting facing the visitors and were not singing *koşok*. This upset me a lot and I wanted to express my feeling to those women, so I improvised in my *koşok* song asking, “*Jatkan jering kudukpu, kızdaring senin dudurpu?*” [Oh, poor man [referring to the deceased], are you now lying at the bottom of a well, are your daughters mute?].³⁸

Thus, *koşok* lamentations provide an acceptable communication channel for those attending the funeral to communicate with one another. Since the songs are not a direct conversation or dialog between the funeral attendees, they can express feelings, complaints, grievances and demands in a nonconfrontational way. Thus, *koşok* lamentations serve as a medium to recount the departed's life story and express grievances, expectations and requests to one another in an acceptable manner.

Finally, the interviewees highlighted the capacity of a *koşok* song to transform grief. A *koşok* is not merely performative but also transformative (i.e., they change both the *koşokçular* as well as the audience by channeling their grief into other emotions).³⁹ Based on their own experiences, the interviewees described crying without a *koşok* as suffocating, while singing a *koşok* as “relieving”. They pointed out that singing *koşok* lamentations helped them grieve and provide consolation afterwards.⁴⁰

5 Signs the Significance of Koşok Is Waning

Before delving into the reasons behind the waning significance of *koşok* lamentations, it makes sense to let the reader know how one can tell that the cultural practice of singing *koşok* lamentations is waning. This section focuses on indicators of the waning of *koşok* lamentations. Then, the factors that lie behind this trend are pointed out.

*Küzüüdo ölgön ukama,
Kışında kelgen kim boldu?*

Recorded from Dönön, Ak-Bosogo village, Alai district, Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 21.

³⁷ From the interview context, I can say that my interlocutor was comparing current day situation with Soviet-time and pre-Soviet era.

³⁸ Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 109.

³⁹ Bell, *Ritual Theory*.

⁴⁰ Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 113.

First, *koşok* lamentations today are not performed at every funeral. As previously mentioned, singing *koşok* lamentations has been one of the oldest funerary rituals of the Kyrgyz people. Most interviewees, between forty and seventy years of age, mentioned that the number of funerals without *koşok* performances have increased in the last thirty to forty years. Anarbübü Sakabekova, from Talas, lamented these changes:

These days nobody sings *koşok* lamentations. For example, a lady in her sixties passed away recently in our village. When I went there, I scolded them saying nobody honors the dead anymore. They were just wailing, *koşoktor* were not performed.⁴¹

Such negligence in performing *koşok* lamentations seems to be a wide-ranging phenomenon. Many local women shared their observations and experiences of attending funerals that demonstrate that *koşok* lamentations are not performed anymore as a part of the funeral ceremony. These excerpts form about thirty interviews that support this claim.⁴²

Secondly, even if *koşok* lamentations are performed during the funeral, the quality of the performances is low. It is expected that the content of *koşok* lamentations reflect the personality, traits, age and social status of the deceased person, as well as accurately reflecting his or her deeds, virtues and achievements. For example, when the deceased is a young man, the lamenting women should use verses that express bitterness and regret about an unfulfilled life, whereas when the deceased person is a mother of many children, the lamenting women should use other verses.⁴³ The existing traditional *koşok* lamentations do not fit well within today's context. One will not find references to any of the new professions or occupations that came later during the Soviet period. For example, when the deceased is a good teacher, the lamenter should improvise new *koşok* verse lines that describe his or her teaching skills, awards and the respect shown by his or her students and colleagues, but metaphors and symbols of traditional *koşok* lamentations are a poor fit for the agrarian world of farmers and the urban lifestyle of businessmen, merchants, teachers, professors, scholars, artists, economists, accountants and so on.⁴⁴ As a result, lamentation songs have become limited to describing the inevitability of death, feelings of sorrow, grief and wishing the soul of the deceased to rest in Heaven. The important aspects of the deceased's personality and profession do not get mentioned. And contemporary Kyrgyz women have not learned the oral poetic skill to improvise new verse lines that would fit individual situations.

Moreover, *koşok* lamentations are expected to be sung with a particular pitch and tune. It is difficult to memorize verse lines of a *koşok* and sing them in the right

⁴¹ Recorded from Sakabekova Anarbübü, Kara-Buura district, Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 76.

⁴² Köchümkulova, *ibid*, 76–89.

⁴³ For examples of verses used for different people, please see Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 204–212.

⁴⁴ Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*.

order using the right melody. Moreover, the melodies of *koşok* lamentations vary from region to region and from one *koşokçu* to another. However, those who perform *koşok* lamentations often fail to sing the lamentation songs properly. Many women observed during this fieldwork mentioned the challenges younger women face when singing *koşok* songs. They noted that the *koşok* lamentations of younger women distort the traditional *koşok* melody and sound unpleasant to the listener's ear. For example, Saina Dyikanbaeva from Naryn recalled her interaction with young women attending one of the funerals:

I sang *koşok* at the funeral of my maternal aunt who passed away at the age of 75. She had worked at a lyceum as vice principle for 38 years. At her funeral, her close friend was singing *koşok* addressing her as "Galina Tairovna!"⁴⁵ The melody of her *koşok* was wrong. Her daughters were raised speaking and behaving like Russians.⁴⁶ So, they were crying saying in Russian, "Mamochka".⁴⁷ I could not stand that, I said to myself it is horrible. Filled with sorrow and anger, I began singing *koşok* about her. Then all of them cried listening to my proper *koşok*.⁴⁸

Another indication of the diminishing importance of *koşok* lamentations comes from the linguistic analysis of the *koşok* texts.⁴⁹ An analysis of the texts of *koşok* lamentations collected across Kyrgyzstan shows that most of the vocabulary, metaphors and epithets used in these lamentations are related to nomadic lifestyle and livelihoods.⁵⁰ Since most of the population does not live a nomadic lifestyle anymore, they and their modern realities become exceedingly detached from the *koşok* content. For example, the lamentations contain numerous "building blocks" to describe the life and deeds of a herder, hunter or a *mullah* (Muslim priest). These "building block" come in the form of detailed descriptions, vocabulary and other poetic tools such as epithets, metaphors, hyperbolas, etc. At the same time, within today's *koşok* lamentations, there are almost no such "building blocks" to describe the lives and deeds of a more urbanized and sedentarized

45 Galina is the first name, and Tairovna is a patronym. It can be translated as Galina, the daughter of Tair. Addressing a person by his or her first and middle name is a Russian/Soviet practice. Professional colleagues or subordinates usually address their bosses by his or her first and middle name. In Kyrgyz culture, especially when singing a *koşok* at a funeral, this is never done and accepted. The lamenting person should address by using the kinship terms of endearment such as dear friend, teacher, uncle, etc.

46 Pritchard, "Creativity and Sorrow," 168, also noted that many Kyrgyz people mix in Russian words into their colloquial speech.

47 *Mamochka* is a diminutive form of the Russian word for *mother* (mama).

48 Recorded from Diikanbaeva Saina, Kazıbek village, At-Bashi district, Naryn province. Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 113–114.

49 Galina, "Bashkırskaia," 39–40, describes the linguistic specificities of the lamentation songs of Kazakh and Bashkir people.

50 I collected *koşoktor* texts from 150 respondents. More than eighty percent of my respondents were between seventy and ninety-five years of age. The transcriptions of *koşok* texts, audio, and video files can be found in Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, the hard copy of which comes with a CD. Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 35–42.

Kyrgyz people, e.g., doctors, engineers or drivers. Such discrepancies between the texts of *koşok* lamentations and today's everyday life indirectly show that *koşok* lamentations, as a genre of the oral tradition, have been losing their ground.

6 Factors Contributing To the Decline of the *Koşok*

In this section I will outline the main factors that have contributed to the decline of the practice of *koşok* lamentations. I conceptualize these factors as belonging to two groups: internal factors (i.e., the specificities of the *koşok* as a genre of oral tradition; and external factors, i.e., large-scale changes and transformations that have happened in Kyrgyz society over the last few decades). These separations between “internal” and “external” are done for analytical purposes only. Surely, these factors interconnect and intertwine in a multitude of ways.

6.1 Internal Factors

Koşok is a difficult performative genre. On the one hand, it requires the *koşokçu* to be very knowledgeable. For example, as mentioned above, the *koşok* should reflect the personality, traits, deeds and achievements of the deceased person. That is why only someone who knows the deceased person well can compose and perform decently a *koşok*. In some cases, when the female relatives of the deceased person are unable to perform a *koşok* or if the *koşok* is seen to fall short of expectations, the relatives of the deceased person will invite a *koşokçu* from other villages. In these cases, the relatives tell the *koşokçu* the life story of the deceased person, his or her traits and good qualities.

Secondly, the *koşokçu* must demonstrate a strong command of the Kyrgyz language to be able to compose lines that rhyme.⁵¹ They are also required to know traditional epithets used to denote kinship ties and euphemisms, which are quite elaborate in the Kyrgyz society.⁵² In addition, the *koşokçu* often makes use of traditional ecological

⁵¹ *Koşok*tor have seven or eight syllables in each verse line. Initial and internal alliteration as well as the end rhyme is often maintained. The *koşok*tor make a great use of formulaic language, parallelism, and metaphors. To read more about the poetic structure and features of *koşok* lamentations, see Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sıy bolot*, 201–213.

⁵² Depending on the kinship or social ties with the deceased person (i.e., a woman singing –may be a daughter, a sister, a mother, a grandmother, a granddaughter, a wife, a daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, an aunt, a niece, a friend, etc.), a woman uses different epithets. These epithets may be the same but can also differ from region to region. For example, the following epithets that a wife uses in her lamentation songs for her husband in Talas: *jaş murzam* (my young husband/gentleman), *şumkarım* (my falcon), *tui-gunum* (my hawk), *asılım* (my precious one), *aristanım* (my lion), *berenim* (my brave one), *bekzatım* (my strong one), *berekem* (my treasure), *momunum* (my humble/quite one), *kutmanım* (my fortune/blessing),

knowledge, makes references to religious texts such as Quran, and includes philosophical ideas about life and death, virtue and purpose of life into their lamentation songs. The structure of the *koşok* resembles the structure of the traditional Kyrgyz heroic epic,⁵³ which means that performing a *koşok* for a deceased person is, in essence, as difficult as composing and singing an epic poem dedicated to that person.

Thirdly, there is an entire performative aspect to singing a *koşok*. It is not just the text of the *koşok* that matters but also the way it is sung. The rhyming lines of a *koşok* must fit into the tunes and rhythms of the lamentation songs.⁵⁴ Moreover, the *koşokçu* is expected to sing the *koşok* loud enough and utter the words therein clearly so that the funeral attendees can hear what is being said.⁵⁵ And all of this is expected when a performer is overwhelmed with sorrow and grief. Shortly put, the *koşok* is very difficult performative genre.

Another factor that makes the *koşok* a difficult genre are the strict requirements on when and where a *koşok* can be performed. As mentioned earlier, a *koşok* is performed during the funerals and the consequent memorial feasts only. *Koşok* lamentations are not sung outside of these contexts. Unlike other songs, which can be practiced beforehand, a Kyrgyz woman should avoid practicing singing a *koşok* because it is believed that by doing so she may be anticipating or even summoning death into the family.⁵⁶ Just like any other performative act, excellence in composing a *koşok* requires practice, however, the opportunities for practice are limited due to the internal cultural norms and taboos in Kyrgyz society.

These cultural taboos also created a challenge for my fieldwork. Often it was difficult to get the women to sing the lamentation songs. As the opening vignette to this article shows, it is difficult to perform a *koşok* outside of the funeral context.

etc. To see a comparative table of epithets used in different regions of Kyrgyzstan, see Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*, 39–41. Laude-Cirtautas, “Euphemisms,” 75–76, described the euphemisms for the word “death” in many Turkic languages including the Kyrgyz language. For example, she describes that the word *öl-*, meaning “to die”, as a taboo word often replaced by a euphemism such as *uçup ketti* (flew away), *kaitış boldu*, *ötüp ketti* (passed away), etc., when talking about someone’s death. Such euphemisms are still used in *koşok* lamentations.

53 Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*, 121.

54 *Koşok* lamentations have their own regional tunes and rhythms. To see more detailed descriptions of *koşok* tunes and rhythms, please see Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*, 345–348; and Pritchard, “Creativity and Sorrow,” 168.

55 To get a glimpse of a Kyrgyz funeral, please refer to Hardenberg.

56 Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*, 54.

6.2 External Factors Such as Modernization

Many women expressed the opinion that the decline of the *koşok* started back in the Soviet era.⁵⁷ Kyrgyz society underwent a very rapid transformation during the Soviet times: the mostly seminomadic population was sedentarized and urbanized. Dwyer argues, “[S]uppression of ritual lamenting can be viewed as a casualty of the reflexivity of the modernity of nation-states: laments are perceived as old fashioned, even backwards.”⁵⁸ Dwyer’s observations do differ from subjects of this study, who pointed out a few other reasons for the decline of the *koşok*. For example, the social processes during the Soviet era went hand in hand with the promotion of the Russian language, resulting in predominantly Russian speaking urban population in Kyrgyzstan today. As stated earlier, composing a *koşok* requires a mastery of the language and extensive knowledge of traditional kinship structure, beliefs, and ecological knowledge.⁵⁹ Without the mastery of the language, it is impossible to expect anyone to be able to perform a *koşok* much less understand it. That is why the Russification of the Kyrgyz people during the Soviet era,⁶⁰ as well as Soviet policy against traditional Kyrgyz funerary customs, greatly contributed to the decline of the *koşok*.⁶¹

Social changes in the Kyrgyz society during the Soviet era (i.e., sedentarization, urbanization, etc.) led to a proliferation of written (print) culture. With the adoption of written/print culture, people began relying more on texts instead of relying on their memory and oral transmission of knowledge. Radlov, who visited the Kyrgyz in the middle of the nineteenth century, noted that vernacular speech of the Kyrgyz people was very poetic.⁶² Thus, the development of written culture at the expense of the oral

57 They did not say the exact years when the tradition of *koşok* singing began to decline, but we can say that up until the 1970s the tradition was practiced, mostly in rural areas when there were still living many elderly women who had grown up hearing *koşok* from their parents and grandparents.

58 Dwyer, “Bridal Laments,” 131.

59 Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*.

60 cf. Rannut, *Russification*, 1–4; Brazel.

61 Jacquesson, “Sore Zones.”

62 Radlov, *Obrazcy*, 3–4. “I have already had an occasion to mention that both the Kara-Kirghiz and the Kazak-Kirghiz are distinguished from their fellow tribesmen of Turkic origin by their extraordinary ability to speak.

Indeed, one cannot help but be surprised that the Kyrgyz have such a great command of their own language. The Kyrgyz always speak fluently, without pausing or stuttering. The Kyrgyz can express his thoughts accurately and clearly, he knows how to make his speech eloquent and elegant. Even in the most ordinary conversation, the phrases and sentences are constructed in such a way that a clear rhythmic pattern emerges. The sentences follow one another in the form of rhymes and couplets and give the impression of a poem.”

[Original Russian text: *Mne prixodilos' uže upominat', čto kak i kara-kirgizy, tak i kazak-kirgizy otličajutsja ot svoix soplemennikov tjurkskogo proišoždenija neobyknovennym umeniem govorit'. Dejstviteľno, nel'zja ne udivljat'sja tomu, čto kirgizy vladejut svoim jazykom. Kirgiz vsegda govorit*

tradition also took its toll on the poetic skills of the Kyrgyz people, which have impacted the quality of the *koşok*.

Another “external” factor often mentioned by my interlocutors is the proliferation of more puritan interpretations of Islam that flooded Kyrgyzstan after the collapse of the Soviet Union. For example, Asylkan Ibraeva from Alai district explained it this way:

Up until a couple of years ago, women used to perform *koşok* lamentations at the funerals. But then mullahs [Muslim priests] started putting more pressure on us to stop singing *koşok* lamentations. As soon as women start singing a *koşok*, they come and tell us to stop. That it is not a correct thing to do.⁶³

According to these new interpretations of Islam, most of the funerary traditions of the Kyrgyz people such as the act of performing a *koşok* or slaughtering of livestock to feed those attending the funeral are considered as *bida*,⁶⁴ that is innovations in religion, which many consider to be “polluting” the purity of Islam. Some *mullahs* have actively tried to prohibit *koşok* singing by introducing and promoting such narratives as, “*koşok-tor* torture the soul of the deceased and burden him/her”,⁶⁵ or that “by lamenting the death and singing *koşoktor*, people challenge the God’s plan for each person.”⁶⁶ Another narrative often told by mullahs is that the only way to help the soul of the deceased person is to recite Quran.⁶⁷ This is a very interesting point, because in traditional Islam, the Quran and *koşok* are not seen as mutually exclusive.⁶⁸ However, proponents of more radical interpretations of Islam are trying to completely replace the *koşok* with recitations of Quran.

Anara Kasımova, an interviewee from the village of Sheker in the district of Kara-Buura, shared how the advice of a mullah undermines the foundations of Kyrgyz funerary practices, which enable the *koşok* tradition:

When my husband died, mullahs insisted that he should be buried the next day because if one is buried on the day of *ait* [Eid], his soul goes to heaven. We could not do anything about it, and we did as mullah said. There was no need to erect a special yurt to house his body according to the Kyrgyz tradition. His body was placed in one of the rooms of our two-story house.⁶⁹

beglo, ne ostanavlivajas' i ne zapinajas'. Izlagaja svoi mysli točno i jasno, on umeet pridat' svoej reči mnogo izjašestva. Daže v samom obyknovennom razgovore pri postroenii fraz i periodov u nego javljaetsja často jasnyj ritmičeskij razmer; tak čto predloženijsja sledujut drug za drugom v vide stihov i kupletov i proizvodjat vpečatlenie stixotvorenija.]

63 For the full interview, please see Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*, 77–79.

64 Köchümkulova, “Kyrgyz Funeral Laments,” 201.

65 Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*, 82.

66 Köchümkulova, unpublished field notes, 2014.

67 cf. Hardenberg, “How To Overcome Death,” 39.

68 cf. Hardenberg, “How To Overcome Death,” 38.

69 Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*, 84–85.

There is an importance to the ambiance that enables the female lamenters to sing a *koşok*. Erecting yurts and burying a deceased on the third day after someone's passing is crucial for creating conditions for the female (as well as for male) lamenter to start singing. Thus, it is evident that some interpretations of Islamic rules come at odds with the local tradition of *koşok* singing at the funerals.

Finally, the rapid modernization of Kyrgyz society has also played a role in the decline of the *koşok* lamentations. As mentioned above, not only are *koşok* lamentations a very difficult genre of traditional performative arts but also the time for practicing them is limited to the funerary rituals. When the transportation infrastructure was not as developed as it is now, it would take at least one day and more frequently a few days to get to the funeral. The time to reach the funeral was spent teaching the younger generation how to compose and sing *koşok* lamentations.⁷⁰ However, in modern times it takes only few hours to get to a funeral, which further shortens the time during when one can “legitimately” practice *koşok* singing.

7 Conclusion

The tradition of singing *koşok* lamentations, or funeral lamentations, for a deceased person, is an important cultural practice of the Kyrgyz. This ritual intimately links with centuries-old oral traditions and the Kyrgyz nomadic way of life, standing at the heart of Kyrgyz funerary customs. Primarily practiced by women, the singing of *koşok* remains an essential ritual during funeral and subsequent memorial feasts in many rural communities. Being performative in nature, the *koşok* tradition is also transformative. *Koşok* performances help the relatives of the deceased person overcome and transform their grief and sorrow. At the same time, the results of my extensive ethnographic research suggest that the tradition of singing *koşok* lamentations at the funerals is declining. In this paper, I outlined both the internal as well external reasons for such decline. During my interviews with women across Kyrgyzstan, our conversations often raised the question: “Does the *koşok* have a future? Or will it fall into oblivion?” Frankly speaking, it is a very difficult question to answer. As a person and a scholar who is fascinated by the *koşok*, I hope that the tradition survives, develops further, and endures many centuries to come as it has for thousands of years. At this point, the Islamic discourses that oppose the *koşok* seems to be the strongest and most negative influence. A dialogue with the imams and mullahs across the country must be established to change the anti-*koşok* religious discourse. In fact, the traditional interpretations of Islam offer enough space for recitations of both the Quran and the *koşok* lamentations to coexist within Kyrgyz funerary rituals.

⁷⁰ Köchümkulova, *Tirüünün körkü sy bolot*, 76.

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Kağan Arık

A Trialogic Narrative on the Taxonomy of Healing Among the Xinjiang Kazaks

1 Introduction

In the autumn of 1994, while in Urumchi, Xinjiang Province, China, I made the acquaintance of a local Kazak scholar, who became my teacher and consultant.¹ I shall refer to him as *Ağai*, a term of respect in Kazak.² In addition to being a scholar of folklore and literature, Ağai was the grandson and the grand-nephew-in-law of two Kazak elders,³ who were respected for their knowledge of Kazak tradition. Ağai's great-uncle Tömenbai had a reputation as a healer, or *baqsy*. This encounter is documented in my doctoral dissertation, titled "Shamanism,⁴ Culture and the Xinjiang Kazak: a Native Narrative of Identity".⁵

Ağai did not describe himself as an anthropologist,⁶ but he was a "native" and a scholar of Kazak literature and culture. He had been brought up in the steppe but had subsequently attended university in Urumchi and Beijing and was now a university professor. He is thus an indigenous scholar, as defined by M. M. Balzer,⁷ and a native informant,⁸ or native consultant. The contextualization of his narrative on Kazak culture is

1 This article is based on an earlier version that was published as "A Native Taxonomy of Healing among the Xinjiang Kazaks" in *Anthropology of Consciousness*, Vol. 10, no. 4 (December 1999). This version has been substantially revised and is a new article.

2 *Ağai* can be translated as "elder brother" and is also used respectfully at the end of a male person's first name when addressing them, somewhat akin to the English title "Mr.", in a less formal context. The title *Mirza* is usually appended to the last name of a male person, in a more formal context.

3 In-law kinship relations are of tremendous importance among the Kazaks. A relative-in-law is at least as "true" a relative as a blood-line relative. In some cases, a father, mother, aunt or uncle-in-law is more influential than a blood-line parent. The *baqsy* Tömenbay was an important figure in Ağai's early life.

4 A discussion of the various meanings of the terms "shamanist" and "shamanism" is outside the scope of the present paper. I use the term here, since it is the term which Ağai himself used (as "*şamanizm*" or "*şaman dını*"). However, the use of this term, particularly within the context of Kazak culture, is not entirely unproblematic. But since Ağai himself uses it in his narrative, I will not "deconstruct" it here, but instead give it in quotation marks. For a further problematization of these terms in the context of Kazak culture, please see my dissertation, Chapter VII. For general theoretical perspectives on shamanism, see Hultkrantz, "Ecological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism," 9; Humphrey, *Shamans and Elders*, 4; De Weese, *Islamization and Native Religion*, 27–50; Kalweit, *Dreamtime and Inner Space*, 75–110.

5 Arık, "Shamanism, Culture and the Xinjiang Kazak."

6 However, he was aware of the field, well-read, and professed a liking for Sapir, and for what he called the "American Structuralist School".

7 Balzer, 3–6.

8 I prefer to use the term "consultant" or "teacher", instead of "informant" or "collaborator". These latter terms carry negative connotations in other contexts. Furthermore, a native consultant such as

complex,⁹ since, in his interactions with me, he presented himself as a loyal citizen of China as well as a member of a distinct ethnic minority within China. The multiple facets of his identity as a Kazak, a Chinese citizen, a scholar and a native consultant figure at various levels in his narrative. The use of the arcane term “trialogic” in the title of this paper is rather simple: there is a conversation between me (the ethnographic field-worker), the native consultant as a native and the native consultant as a scholar of his own culture. In fact, we could expand the number of interlocutors if we take into consideration that the ethnographer himself is in this case acting as a scholar while also receiving this information as a native of a related cultural tradition.

A brief description of the methodology used helps to frame the substance of this paper. The narrative of the consultant is a recorded *dialogue* held with the outsider (me). Even when the dialogue tends toward “monologue”, if Ağai speaks uninterruptedly, it still is a dialogue, in that the choice of topics is based on the presence and perceived characteristics of the outsider.¹⁰ This jointly created dialogic process is instrumental for an emergence of “Ağai’s Xinjiang Kazak Culture”,¹¹ in the terms outlined by Tedlock, and Mannheim and Tedlock.¹²

Ağai’s narrative consists of his words about his culture, on the one hand as he lives and perceives it himself, on the other as he describes it to me. Thus, in this work, his words *are* his world. These words, and the thoughts, experiences and emotions behind them, are *Kazak* and, in particular, a reflection of the self-identification of one particular Kazak man. Thus, their intended *meaning* is what needs to be represented here, as much as is possible. In the words of Clifford Geertz:

[. . .] the concept of culture I espouse is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to *be* those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of *meaning* [italics mine].¹³

Ağai knows much more about his own culture than an outsider scholar, and thus deserves to be called a teacher, rather than a mere informant.

9 The complete text of Ağai’s narrative (translated into English) appears in my dissertation.

10 See Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*.

11 Although the decision to *present* Ağai’s lectures as an ethnographic narrative was mine, the narrative itself was *already* an “ethnography” at the time it took form in Ağai’s mind. It must have been taking shape there for most of Ağai’s life, especially given his multifaceted identity as a “native scholar”. But, when the time came, he made definite methodological choices with regards to the form, content and presentation of his narrative to me. Thus, during the first phase of the formation of this work, that of gathering the field data, Ağai is the actual ethnographer, and I an outsider whom *he* selected and whom he agreed to teach.

12 Tedlock, “Interpretation, Participation,” 253–285; and Tedlock and Mannheim, *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture*, 4–12, 15–20.

13 Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 5.

The task of conveying Ağai's meaning is not merely a problem of linguistic translation. It is in fact a wider problem of cultural interpretation. During fieldwork, interpretation (a subjective phenomenon), and thus perhaps a degree of involuntary "appropriation", may occur immediately if the recorder and translator of a narrative chooses between alternative translations of key terms used by their consultant. This, in turn is predicated upon their own understanding of the narrative, and their biases and "evoked set". Conversely, the consultant and narrator will themselves choose what to present and how to present it, based on how they perceive their interlocutor. As a remedy to the possibility of misinterpretation, I include within the body of this text exact quotes in Kazak from Ağai's original narrative.

My goal is to state facts about the nature of Kazak traditional healing practices as closely as possible to particular Kazak perspectives on the topic, in this case those expressed by Ağai and other consultants. In my text, the consultants speak in their own terms. If there is to be a "bias", I prefer it to be "Kazak". Given this goal, I maximize the use of primary materials and use the secondary materials only to the extent that they relate to the information provided by the primary sources. Thus, the main objective here is to provide a "native" representation of one aspect of Kazak culture, based on a particular individual narrative. The data presented in this paper emerges from a "long conversation" between natives of two different countries, albeit culturally and linguistically related, who furthermore represent two contrasting academic traditions ("Western" vs "Chinese").

Thus, the methodological orientation used here is *collaborative ethnography*, exemplified by works such as those of Dwight Conquergood with Hmong shaman Thao Paja,¹⁴ Eugene Hunn with N'chi Wana Pum tribal elder James Selam,¹⁵ as well as other recent ethnographic works that accord native consultants primary agency as ethnographers, such as those of M. M. Balzer,¹⁶ with scholars from the Russian Federation. Another inspiration was Caroline Humphrey's work with Daur elder and *shaman* Urgunge Onon,¹⁷ whom she hesitates to call an "informant", since her stated goal is to "fully acknowledge the intellectual and practical force of indigenous understandings of the topic at hand", thereby destabilizing "the concept of separate and hierarchically opposed 'cultures'".¹⁸ Conquergood,¹⁹ himself quoting Edward Said, expresses a similar view:

By inviting people from the cultures we study to speak for themselves – as they are quite able and eager to do – we move from observation to *dialogue* [italics mine]. When speaking for themselves, they are speaking to us. And what they have to say makes claims on us. Experiencing another culture through a speaking subject, a human voice,

¹⁴ Conquergood, *I am a Shaman*.

¹⁵ Hunn, *Nch'i-Wána*.

¹⁶ Balzer, *Culture Incarnate; and Shamanic Worlds*.

¹⁷ Humphrey.

¹⁸ Humphrey, 9.

¹⁹ Conquergood, 7.

helps keep us alive to ‘existential human identities’ and resistant to ‘the transformation of the human into the specimen’.²⁰

My work with Ağai also features the native scholar consultant as the primary ethnographer. As Balzer suggests,²¹ it is perhaps not necessary to “go native” to represent an indigenous perspective *from* an indigenous point of view. Furthermore, there exists more than one “native perspective” concerning “shamanism” and related cultural practices among the Xinjiang Kazaks. The *baqsy* chants presented in William Dirks,²² for example, do contain Islamic elements, and the native sources featured therein suggest a degree of religious syncretism present in the healing rituals of the Xinjiang Kazaks today. While this perspective is confirmed to an extent by my own consultant, it so happens that the syncretic, Islam-influenced aspects of Kazak *baqsy* healing practices were not a major theme in his overall narrative. Was this his own opinion, was he representing a widely held point of view among Xinjiang Kazaks, or was it simply what he chose to tell *me* at the time?

The pitfalls of an exercise in futility, such as attempting to give an “objective” presentation of an aspect of an “indigenous culture”, are too numerous to list here. Therefore, in my work, I have done my best to render my “indigenous” consultant’s narrative *intact*. The present paper presents my own synopsis and discussion of one small portion of Ağai’s narrative, pertaining to his native *and* scholarly taxonomy of illness and healing practices among the Xinjiang Kazaks. Although the narrative text is not reproduced in this paper, the terminology which pertains to a taxonomy of healing is given here in the original. In addition to Ağai’s taxonomy of illness and healing, this paper also presents examples of healing practices excerpted from Ağai’s narrative.

2 A Native Scholar’s Taxonomy of Kazak Healing Traditions

Ağai knew that my main interest was in practices which related to the ancient “religion” of the Kazaks, to which we referred as *şaman dını*, or “the shamanist religion”, for the sake of convenience, in our conversations. This composite appellation is lexically Tungusic *and* Arabic, while morphologically Turkic, and is calqued to boot from “Western” academic discourse. It is also imprecise since it glosses over certain historical and cultural factors. This lack of fit manifests itself at several levels:

First, according to ancient Chinese, Muslim and Byzantine chroniclers who described ancient Turkic peoples,²³ and according to written monuments left by the ancient Turks

²⁰ Conquergood, quoting Said, 142, 155.

²¹ Balzer, *Culture Incarnate*.

²² Dirks, “Elements of Kazak Baqsi Chants”.

²³ For references to Priscus, Jordanes, Ibn Fadlan, Ibn Battuta, etc., on the Huns and ancient Turks, see Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns*; and Roux, *Histoire des Turcs*.

themselves,²⁴ there certainly existed a “religion” which predated Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Manicheism among the ancestors of the Kazaks of Xinjiang.²⁵ However, such primary sources, as well as subsequent scholars such as De Weese,²⁶ indicate that these practices were broader in scope than the term “religion” tends to denote. These practices covered most aspects of life and death. The phrase “way of life” is more useful than “religion” when referring to the practices of a people who did not draw sharp distinctions between the so-called “sacred” and “profane”.

Second, the term *şaman dını* was historically not used by the Kazaks or their ancestors when referring to certain “traditional” aspects of their way of life. A personage who was later dubbed “shaman” by foreign scholars did exist among the Kazaks and their ancestors. But the proper term in past usage among the Kazaks and several other groups of Turks for this personage is *qam*. The Kazaks in Xinjiang currently use the term *baqsy* when referring to exponents of certain forms of healing. Ağai himself used the term *baqsylyq* when referring to spiritual practices involving healing and other activities that “outsiders” may refer to as “supernatural”.

Third, as with most communities of Turkic-speaking peoples, syncretic elements abound in religious-spiritual practices. This is a consequence of the geographical and historical mobility of the Turkic peoples and their ancestors, which in turn generates a high degree of cultural interchanges with diverse populations. This complicates the problem of determining the exact age and ethno-cultural “origin” of any given so-called “shamanist” activity among the Kazaks of Xinjiang.

Fourth, the activities of a Kazak *baqsy* defy easy categorization. Is the *baqsy* a healer, an advisor, a poet, a musician, a genealogist, an educator, a fortune-teller, or is he someone who is beyond our rigid forms of vocational classification? Although not a *baqsy* himself (to the best of my knowledge), when I solicited information about Kazak “shamanism”, Ağai presented me with narratives on the topics of oral and written literature, physical education (traditional sports), architecture, clothing, and various forms of sickness healing and fortune-telling.

In his discussion of existing Kazak traditional healing practices, Ağai emphasized the difference between “ordinary” traditional healing methods, which used external remedies, and the “shamanic” arts of the *baqsy*, which appeared to occur at a “bioenergetic” level and were characterized by the use of words and music as the primary tangible instruments for healing. This, I find, provides a strong incentive to explore some of the connections between Kazak oral tradition and Kazak healing practices. Is the Kazak *baqsy* a “shaman”, is he a vestige of the ancestral Turkic *qam*, or does he represent an altogether different tradition of performance?

²⁴ I am referring here to old Turkic inscriptions such as the Orkhon-Yenisey monuments.

²⁵ Old Turkic Manichean and Buddhist texts, as well as Middle Turkic Islamic (transitional) texts such as the *Qutadgu bilig* or the *Diwan-i-lughat-it-Turk* contain vocabulary and other items which refer to a prior Turkic religion.

²⁶ De Weese.

Despite the thirteen centuries which have elapsed since the writing of the Orkhon Inscriptions,²⁷ a measure of the interconnectedness of all aspects of life with one another apparently still held sway in Ağai's understanding of his own culture. What may appear to be disparate domains in the cultural life of the Kazaks to outside observers, constituted for Ağai a web of interrelated practices, which ultimately provided the framework for a hypothetical "Right Way to Live".²⁸ Illness, whether physical or mental, whether individual or collective, was the result of deviation from this "Correct Way", and the *baqsy* was the one whose mission it was to correct the deviation and thus restore health and balance to the afflicted system.

As a person educated in the modern tradition, Ağai also understood the conceptual compartmentalization which holds healing as a separate activity in and of itself and was able to focus on describing specific methods of healing in use among the Kazaks of Xinjiang at the time of his grandparents, and to an extent, today. He provided a classification and categorization of these practices, first, according to the nature of the ailment, and second, according to the nature of the cure. He divided ailments into *ruxani aury* (mental-spiritual ailment) and *dene aury* (ailment of the body) to facilitate our discourse, although he considered these two categories to be often interrelated. In the case of physical ailments, it was understood that there was a difference between an internal illness and an external injury caused by an "accident" (such as cutting oneself or falling) although from a "shamanist" point of view, both could be defined as misfortunes rooted in an unseen world of "nonmanifest causality" (nonmanifest to the outsider perhaps).

Ağai clearly stated that he was making these artificial categories solely for the purpose of tackling the topic of healing in an analytical fashion. He repeated that seemingly diverse practices such as healing, "yurt" construction or traditional sports were in fact manifestations of the same inherent ordering of life and used the metaphor that these were "*bır qazanda qainağan etter*" (pieces of meat boiling in the same pot).²⁹ He

27 The Orkhon-Yenisey Inscriptions, engraved on a large obelisk in the Old Turkic "runic" script, include a funeral epitaph left by Bilgä Qağan, ruler of the Second Kök Türk Empire, in honour of his deceased brother Köl Tigin. The narrative recounts the deeds of Köl Tigin as well as of Bilgä Qağan, and gives a detailed account of the history of the Kök Türk state from the perspective of its rulers. In addition, the narrative contains data on the religious practices and way of life of the Kök Türks. The inscriptions also include a most interesting and sophisticated account of Kök Türk political history by the counselor to the Qağan, the elder Tonyuquq. The obelisk, and the archeological complex surrounding it, are now in the territory of the Republic of Mongolia, under the joint protection of the governments of Mongolia and Turkey, as a historical monument. As a minor note, the text of the inscriptions contains two to three dialectal variations, which indicates that the Kök Türk did not consist solely of one Turkic-speaking group, but a confederation of several. This is further evidence that the Turkic-speaking peoples were already diversified in the eighth century CE. For the contents of the inscriptions, see Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*; Ergin, *Orhun abideleri*; Köken, *Çözölmüş Orhon yazıtları* (translated from Thomsen).

28 This term, given here in quotes, is not an exact quote from Ağai but my own gloss based on Ağai's explanation.

29 The term *yurt* derives from a misunderstanding of the Turkic term for "homeland" by outsiders. The correct term in Kazak is *kuiz üy* (*kuigız üy*, as Ağai pronounces it), meaning "felt house".

commented that the world of phenomena was one undivided, unified field according to a “traditional” Kazak perspective, but that distinctions had to be made in order to provide “*ğylmi*” (scientific) descriptions thereof.

Dene aurylary (ailments of the body) were treated through *emşilik* (curing) and *därigerlik* (pharmacy),³⁰ forms of physical treatment that involved the use of plants, ointments, metals and other material objects, by practitioners who functioned as versatile naturopathic physicians. *Ruxani aurylar* (ailments of the spirit) were the specialty of the *baqsy* and involved typically “shamanic” methods for their cure, such as the use of words, sounds and movements. Ağai used the words *emdeu* and *dauvalau* interchangeably, both meaning “to cure”. *Emdeu* is from the Old Turkic noun *em*, “cure”, verbalized here as *emdeu*, “to cure”, while *dauvalau* is a borrowing from the Arabic *dawa* “cure”.³¹ “Manifest curing” (*rasmi dauvalau*) referred to external or physical curing methods, while “true curing” (*şyn dauvalau*) dealt with healing with words, sounds, dances and other aspects of the art of the *baqsy*. Ağai believed that these were specifically Kazak arts of healing, which he considered to be a national treasure of the Kazaks, distinct from Uygur or Chinese healing arts. He saw these Kazak arts as having their origin in the “shamanist” practices of ancestors such as the Üysin (Wusun),³² with later influences from Islamic medicine and philosophy, and other unspecified influences.

Ağai maintained that there were innumerable cures spread among the people, and that this had always been so since the time of the ancestors. However, the number of specialized practitioners was steadily declining, and some of the knowledge was thus being lost. The government did not approve of such medical practices. When I asked him why they did not do also disapprove of Uygur medicine, he replied that they did, and that the part of Uygur medicine that was encouraged was the kind that used herbs in a manner consistent with Chinese herbal medicine.

Ağai first addressed what he called *rasmi dauvalau*, or manifest curing, and divided it into healing with plants (*şöp-osımdıkpen dauvalau*), metals (*madanben dauvalau*), stones and minerals (*taspen dauvalau*), animal parts (*aywandardyn denesimen dauvalau*), and made a special mention of bone-setting (*synyqsylyq*) and surgery (he used the Russian word *operatsiya*) as traditional medical practices in which the Kazaks excelled. These treatment methods had been used in the past for humans as well as for cattle but were used more frequently for cattle than for humans in recent times. His narrative includes numerous examples of these types of healing, some of which I will briefly mention here.

Regarding healing with plants, one aspect of Kazak therapies that differed from Uygur or Chinese herbal medicine was the fact that the plants needed to be ingested only once, rather than in repeated doses over a period of time. One such treatment was performed by a *baqsy*, and not an “ordinary” herb doctor: one day when Ağai was a boy,

30 Kazak *däri* < Persian *däru* دارو, “medicine”.

31 دواء.

32 Here, Ağai states that his distant ancestors are Üysin, or Wusun 烏孫.

he and some other children went to gather wood with his great-uncle. His great-uncle gave Ağai a very bitter plant, called *usoyqo*, to chew just once and spit out, and told him that his teeth would henceforth never decay, adding “*Tısin qurt jemeydi!*” (Your teeth will not be eaten by maggots.) This turned out to be true, as Ağai (who was thirty-three years old at the time of our conversation) had never experienced a single dental cavity, and neither had the other children who had chewed the plant on the same day. Others in his family who had not chewed this plant did have dental cavities. What were the relative roles of that specific plant and of the person who administered it (a *baqsy*) in bringing about this remarkable outcome?

Another aspect of Kazak plant use was that certain plants did not have to be ingested *at all* to be effective. They could simply be worn on one's person, nailed to the doorway of a home or burned as a smudge. Such was the case with *jupar* (a.k.a. *jypar*), a fragrant plant burned to dispel negative spirits and to purify a place. *Jupar* furthermore had to be picked by an animal such as a dog (by means of a string tied to it and to the plant by a human) rather than by a human, in order to be effective. Thus, although the use of plants was placed in the category of “manifest healing” by Ağai, the above-described elements strongly suggest that these plants were *numinous*,³³ and that their use may be connected to ancient “shamanist” practices.

Examples of healing with metals and minerals included the uses of silver, gold, copper, iron, salt, and certain types of soil and powdered rock. “Combing” (*tara-*) with silver was effective against various types of systemic “cold”, such as chronic lower back pain, against headaches, and against a disease called *ılme*, which “western” doctors would treat by amputating the affected limb. Heated salt compresses were used to treat stomach ailments, as was vinegar. Not only the nature and form, but also the temperature of the minerals and metals used were of significance for treating specific ailments.

In addition to ritual uses based on the numinous qualities of animals, on which I will not dwell here, animal parts also were used therapeutically. For example, sheep fat, wolf fat, wolf liver and snake fat were used to treat a number of diseases. And, in one instance, Ağai related that a man by the name of Tötön Ali used the tongue of a bear that had severed his arm to reattach and heal that arm. The man had managed to cut off the bear's tongue with a knife held in his remaining arm and had later sewed back on his severed arm, wrapping the bear's tongue around it. The arm healed but ended up being *longer* than before the incident!

The examples of surgery mentioned by Ağai included archeological artifacts, such as skulls found in Üysin graves, which showed evidence of trepanation and fracture-mending using metal staples, as well as leg bones that had been mended with metal plates and pins. These techniques had been, until recent times, used uninterruptedly

33 For more information on numinous plants and minerals among the ancient Turkic peoples, see Roux, *Faune et flore sacrées dans les sociétés altaïques*; and *La religion des Turcs et des Mongols*.

since the Üysin period among the Kazaks.³⁴ The same was true for bone-setting, at which the Kazaks excelled, outperforming the abilities of modern doctors. One bonesetter was able to heal a shattered leg which had been crushed by a falling tree, in a matter of weeks. Modern doctors had told the same patient that amputation was the only solution.

Other types of physical healing mentioned by Ağai used fire, heat, smoke and, in one instance, color. I am not referring here to ritual uses of fire or smoke, such as in the *alas* ceremony, which purifies the cradle of a newborn through birchwood smoke fumigation, or the numinous qualities of certain colors but to specific treatments for specific ailments using the above-mentioned elements. For example, certain burn wounds were treated through the application of embers and hot ashes, and excessive crying in infants was treated by wrapping a *kök şüpirek* (blue cloth) previously soaked in a solution of herbs and salt, around the chest and back of the infant. Ağai insisted that the cloth needed to be blue.

Ağai maintained that the Kazakhs hardly went to doctors and knew how to heal themselves through methods like the ones mentioned above. In families, it was usually the elders who administered these therapies. Individuals who were especially accomplished in given areas of healing, such as bone-setting, were known by word of mouth and consulted by the people at large when needed. Ağai also stressed that in most cases traditional Kazak medicine was more effective, less traumatic to the patient, more rapid in bringing about healing, more accessible and less costly than modern medicine. While medical doctors would prescribe disabling remedies such as amputation, surgery or extended bed rest or gave medicines that had toxic side effects, traditional healers were able to fix the problem in a matter of a few days, and without side effects. This, he knew from personal experience, as well as from the experiences of people whom he knew well. He mentioned that traditional medicine was better for pregnant or nursing women who could not afford to take medicines that would have toxic side effects on their fetuses or newborns.

The second type of healing that Ağai outlined was the one he called *şyn daualau*, or “true healing”. This was the *arnaulu* (dedicated) domain of the *baqsy*, and of *myqty aqsaqaldar* (powerful elders) such as his grandfather. He described the old-time *baqsy*, who wore special headgear such as feathers, wolf heads, fox skins or types of metal helmets, and traveled the country with their trademark musical instruments, the *qobyz* and the *dombyra* (Kazak *baqsy* apparently do not use the *tüngür*, the frame drum of the Siberian shaman), appearing wherever there was illness and curing it free of charge, without being called.

Within this second type of healing, Ağai distinguished between *sözben daualau* (healing with speech), *küimen daualau* (healing with music), *oıynben daualau* (healing with movement), *jerben daualau* (healing with spatial configurations and locations),

34 Ağai opined that the Üysin, who inhabited the present-day Ili region of Xinjiang in the second century BCE, were among the main ancestors of the modern Kazaks.

tabiğatpen daualau (healing with the elements of nature), *nurben daualau* (healing with light) and *alystan daualau* (healing from a distance).

He gave accounts of *baqsy* deeds which he had heard of or witnessed himself. Ağai had been quite impressed by some feats that he had seen as a child. An example of healing with words (and music) included an account of how his great-uncle, the *baqsy* Tömenbay, climbed to the *şanyraq* (top opening) of a felt house, and put all its occupants instantly to sleep with a spontaneous song. The same Tömenbay could call forth rain, thunder and lightning, and did so by means of a dance he performed with his *nayza* (spear).³⁵ *Baqsy oiyny* (*baqsy* dances) were categorized as “healing with movement” and were described by Ağai as vaguely resembling *qigong* movements found in Taoist Chinese health and martial arts.³⁶ *Baqsy* movements could also be very simple: Ağai described how a young *baqsy* from his *aul* (village) “removed” a white horse which had been appearing in the dreams of an old man by slapping the old man on the shoulder unexpectedly while walking in the street. Nobody had told the young *baqsy* that a white horse was constantly appearing in the old man’s dreams. The old man, a communist party member and a skeptic, was amazed that the horse ceased to appear in his dreams after this incident.

In his classification of different types of healing practices that existed in the Kazak communities of Xinjiang, Ağai expressed the opinion that the purest and truest form of healing art was the one involving the use of words and/or music. This, he contended, was closest to the practices of the ancestors, and the least affected by influences from other cultures. He explained that *sözben daualau* and *küimen daualau* were the most effective, since they did not rely on pre-existing evoked sets within the awareness of the person to be healed. As an illustration of the power of healing with words, he mentioned the ability of *baqsy* to perform instant cures by uttering ordinary words to their patients. These words would have no effect at all when uttered by ordinary people, under ordinary circumstances. On one occasion, Tömenbay *baqsy* healed a snake-bitten boy by speaking to the snake that bit him. When he whispered the word “*Tüymömdağyt*” to the snake, which includes the snake’s personal name “*Tüymö*”, the snake swelled up and split lengthwise, and the boy was cured. The *baqsy* had just happened to drop by this place shortly after the boy was bitten.

Ağai also described two genres within Kazak oral literature, which were performed by *baqsy*. These were *baqsy saryny*, and *bädık ölen*, both types of songs sung by *baqsy* in the context of healing a patient. *Saryn* invoked the healing spirits of the *baqsy*,³⁷ while *bädık* was an incantation to cause the illness to “migrate” (*köş-*) or transfer itself

35 In Kazakhstan, this “shaman’s staff” is known as *asa tayaq*, a compound noun which combines the Arabic *asa* and the Turkic *tayaq* synonyms, both meaning “staff”.

36 Among certain Taijiquan lineages, and in particular the Lee style 李氏太極拳, it is said that the Taoist arts were transmitted to the Han Chinese by a Northern people, of tall stature, with light hair and eyes, who carried a mirror suspended to their chest. They were called the “sons of reflected light”.

37 See Dirks for the texts and translations of such *saryn* recorded in Xinjiang in the 1980s.

to another place, such as “far beyond the highest mountains”, or to an object, such as a bag of ashes, a bone, or a piece of meat. These latter items symbolize animals, to whom the illness was apparently transferred in earlier times. The *bädik* would “take the illness and go away with it”, as exemplified by a *bädik* excerpt quoted by Ağai, which is translatable as: “The song is sung, and at the end of it, the *bädik* goes away, crossing the high mountain pass”:

Ölendi oqyp, ayağynda ketip, bädik ketip barady belden asyp.

Here, it appears as though the song is the disease itself made tangible, and thus disempowered. The sentence suggests that the *bädik* song absorbs the disease, becomes one with it, and goes away, taking the illness with it. Another *baqsy* activity within *saryn* and *bädik* was the act of “blowing” (*uşıqta-*) on the patient at the end of an incantation, as illustrated by the following excerpt from a *saryn*, quoted by Ağai:

Ağyndy ağyndy su men ket, qaranğy qaranğy tün men ket, Asqar Asqar su men ket, asuy biik tau men ket, süüü! süüü!

An English translation is:

Current, current, go with water! Darkness, darkness, go with the night! Asqar, Asqar [the name of a spirit], go with water! Go with the mountain that is high to cross! Suuu! Suuu! [the sound of blowing]

Ağai added: “And the next day, you will be well!”.

Regarding *küimen daualau*, another Kazak consultant from Kazakhstan, Aıtjan Esenuly Toqtağan, a musicologist who works with *baqsy* and *küişi*, stated that the word *küi*, meaning “melody” but also “to burn”, was related to the power of fire, and thus to the Sun itself, source of all life, since *küi* and *kün* (the Sun) were one and the same word. He has published extensively on such transformative aspects of *küi*.³⁸ He also pointed out that the word *yr* (or *jyr*), meaning song, was related to the ancient Turkic word for “liquid”. In essence, he was referring to the ancient Turkic cults of the sun and of fire, and of water, which, in his opinion, were metaphors for an elemental understanding of the nature of physical reality. He explained that such a perspective was consistent with modern physics, whereby matter itself is an illusion generated by the interplay of energy particles vibrating at different speeds and rhythms. A skilled *baqsy* would therefore be able to influence the state of any material being using musical, verbal and other vibratory phenomena which he could express through the use of his body (voice included) and its extensions, such as musical instruments.³⁹ Ağai had expressed similar notions during our conversations three years prior to that conversation.

³⁸ Esenuly (Toqtağan), *Küy Täjirdiñ Kübiri*.

³⁹ In fact, Aıtjan *aqyn* had spent twenty-five years collecting sixty-two healing melodies, known as the “*Alpys eki aq jelerñ*”, which used to be part of the repertoire of Kazak *küişi* in pre-Soviet times. The

“Healing with locations” referred to taking patients to certain sites known to have spirit power. These could be certain caves, lakes, rivers, knolls, rocks or mountains but could also be the sites of prior human activity, such as the tombs of saints, or the locations of known historical events. “Healing with spatial configurations” referred primarily to the placement of the patient within the dome of the Kazak “yurt”, relative to key spots such as the *şanyraq* (top opening), the main supporting beams, the doorway or the fireplace. Ağai did not give specific examples of healing with light (sunlight or moonlight, directly or via a mirror), or healing from a distance.

Ağai also mentioned other *baqsy* activities, which do not fall exactly within the rubric of “healing”. This included fortune-telling, using forty-one *qumalaq* (pebbles) scattered randomly on a mat, or sheep pelvic bones which were heated until they cracked (scapulomancy), and finding lost objects or cattle through divination. He also mentioned types of “spells” such as feeding a young woman the sweat of a young man mixed with flour, to cause her to fall in love with him. These activities of the *baqsy* are not discussed at length here, since they do not pertain to Ağai’s taxonomy of practices which relate specifically to healing.

Within the scope of “true healing”, or shamanic practice, Ağai cautioned about the existence of *ötirik baqsylar* (fake *baqsy*) and characterized them as practitioners who only come when called, charge fees for their services, and fade away into obscurity a year or two after appearing in any given community, due to their ineffectiveness. Certain people, who were more like stage magicians, passed themselves off as *baqsy* and gave performances of prestidigitation to entertain an audience.

He also mentioned the healing activities of Muslim mullahs (*molda*) but questioned their connections to “true” Kazak shamanism. He quoted the two following Kazak proverbs regarding the comparative effectiveness of Muslim mullahs versus Kazak *baqsy*: “*Baqsy ömür ızdeydi, molda ölüm ızdeydi*” (The *baqsy* looks for life, the mullah looks for death), and “*Ölendi jerde ögüz semiz, öldüdi jerde molda semiz*” (Where poetry exists, the cattle are fat, where death exists, the mullahs are fat).⁴⁰ In the latter proverb, the poetry in question refers to the verbal and musical art of the *baqsy*, while in the former, the death “sought” by the mullah is one which will provide him with fees for funeral services. Ağai did consider himself a Muslim, however, and was not casting aspersions on the Muslim mullahs. Muslim clergymen are indeed respected among the Xinjiang Kazaks, but their role is perhaps not as prominent as among the Uyghurs or Uzbeks.

mastery thereof was in fact required in order for a *küysı* to be given that title. Each of these sixty-two melodies “tuned” or healed one of the sixty-two *tamar* (energy systems) of the human body.

⁴⁰ It has been pointed out to me by Kazaks from Kazakhstan that *ölen* also is a type of grass which fattens cattle, while *ölen* refers to song or poetry. I am *positive* that Ağai used the term to mean “poetry”, since he has clarified this himself in his narrative. Ağai was perhaps playing on the double meaning here, referring in jest to the mullahs without undue irreverence and making a pun based on minor phonological difference.

Ağai also stated that while one could learn to become a mullah, by attending a *medrese* (Islamic theological school), one could not learn to become a *baqsy*. There were no schools, no set ways of training, no apprenticeship to become a *baqsy*. *Baqsy* did not have apprentices or students. Furthermore, one could not become a *baqsy* voluntarily. The three *baqsy* mentioned by Ağai in his narrative (Tömenbay *baqsy*, a young male *baqsy*, and an old female *baqsy*) all became *baqsy* spontaneously, suddenly and rapidly. In other words, there was no gradual process involved. These individuals became *baqsy* overnight. One day, they were ordinary people, living ordinary lives, and the next they “spoke and moved like *baqsy*”, played the *qobyz*, sat in their “yurts” motionless and waited for patients, or unexpectedly appeared in places where they were needed. They would also disappear for days at a time, and no one, including themselves, knew where they had gone. Not only did they heal illness, particularly of a mental order, but they also gave people advice. The *baqsy* already knew what the problem was before a patient, who would be experiencing a life crisis, even arrived to consult them.

Baqsy found their calling through processes that were mysterious, but an often-encountered theme was that of a visitation by a spirit in a dream, after which the dreamer would become a *baqsy*. This spirit would often be that of a past *baqsy*, but it could be a living *baqsy* as well. Thus, according to Ağai, the power to become a *baqsy* could be transmitted during these types of dreams, often from one *baqsy* to another. A *baqsy* could also transfer his or her power to another person in waking life, for example by slapping them once, hard, on the back. Once the power was transferred, it no longer resided with the old *baqsy*, who was now no longer a *baqsy*, but with the new initiate, who thus became a *baqsy*. *Baqsy* power also tended to be passed on within a bloodline. The young *baqsy* in Ağai’s narrative, the one who “took the white horse away”, was a descendant of Tömenbay, whose power he had apparently inherited. The verb used by Ağai for this transfer of power was *joğu*: “*Sol baqsynyn qudreti sol kisige joğypty*” (The power of this *baqsy* passed to that person). Interestingly, the words used by Ağai for “shamanic power” are *qudret* and *qasiyet*, both terms of Arabic origin which have entered Kazak since the adoption of Islam.

3 Conclusion: “Pieces of Meat Stewing in the Same Pot”

A now-obsolescent dichotomy has characterized the anthropological treatment of “integrated religious systems” such as “monotheist major world religions”, and “unintegrated”, “polytheist”, “primitive” religious systems, which were labelled as “shamanistic”. Is this perceived dichotomy based on a real absence of religious infrastructures in the societies which were the field of investigation of early ethnography or is it a manifestation of our inability to recognize and interpret existing infrastructures correctly? Does, for example, shamanism in Northern Asia possess the attributes outlined

by Geertz in his definition of “religion”?⁴¹ If so, how meaningful is a discussion of such externally visible attributes to a native participant in the system of belief thus characterized?

Humphrey mentions various perspectives regarding “Siberian Shamanism” and is of the opinion that “shamanism may not be an ‘it’ at all,⁴² since practitioners did not name the various activities that outsiders call ‘shamanism’, and these practices were not thought of as all one thing”.

Also, as noted by De Weese,⁴³ indigenous religion in traditional Inner Asia is not separable from the body of traditions which govern the life of the societies in question and is “not marked by special terminology native to these communities”. As De Weese argues, this absence of native religious terminology indicates that these practices are so pervasively linked with all aspects of life that no religious terminology or external taxonomy of religion are necessary.

These latter perspectives are important for the appreciation of Ağai’s taxonomy of healing traditions, given that Ağai is able to superimpose a scholarly framework on a system in which he participates. A case in point is Ağai’s use of the term “*şaman dını*”, an amalgam of a Tungusic word loaned into Kazak through international scholarly languages and the Arabic word for “religion”, when describing the ancient religion of the Kazaks’ ancestors. Another illustration of this point is Ağai’s characterization of the various aspects of Kazak tradition, all connected in his mind to “shamanism” as “pieces of meat stewing in the same pot”.

It is only recently that native scholars such as Ağai, or the contributors to Balzer’s work,⁴⁴ have begun to refer to the ancestral religion as “shamanism”. It is even more recently that the term and the cultural complexes described therein from an external point of view, have entered the discourses of modern states, the inhabitants of which descend from practitioners of the ancient religion. In the autonomous republics of Tuva, Altay and Saxa (Yakutia) within the Russian Federation,⁴⁵ a revival of “shamanist” cultural symbols is taking place. In Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, some symbols that were chosen to assert cultural identity during the process of national revival which began after 1991 are connected to the “shamanist” past despite the former imposition of Islamic and Soviet semiotic systems.

For example, the revived “Rite of Spring” holiday (Kaz. *Nauryz*, Kyr. *Nooruz*), and the symbolism of the new flags both refer to a pre-Muslim “shamanist” culture.⁴⁶ Among

⁴¹ Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 90.

⁴² Humphrey, 4.

⁴³ De Weese.

⁴⁴ Balzer, *Shamanic Worlds*.

⁴⁵ See Khazanov, “Nationalism and Neoshamanism in Yakutia.”

⁴⁶ The flag of the Republic of Kazakhstan features the golden disk of the Sun, under which a golden eagle hovers, on a sky-blue background. The sun is the major celestial cult object in the system of ancient Turkic religion, while the blue sky represents Tängri (*Täñir*, in Kazak), the Supreme Celestial Being.

the Kazaks and the Kyrgyz, the *baqsy/baqsy* continue to exist as an alternative to modern medicine, and are experiencing a resurgence in popularity, partly due to the scarcity of medicine in rural regions, and partly due to the revival of national culture. Traditional doctors, the *emşi* (Kaz.) or *emçi* (Kyr.), also provide healing services. A “post-modern” type of “shaman” has appeared in urban centres long dominated by Soviet culture, but bears little resemblance to the archetypal *qam*, or his heir, the *baqsy*.

On the other hand, “shamanism” as a religion does not exist among the Kazaks, who are Sunni Muslims. Although their adherence to Islam has been characterized as “nominal” by some scholars until relatively recent times, such a characterization may suggest to some that the Kazaks are somehow naively incapable of supporting a true theological system within their culture. De Weese has shown how this cannot be the case. Thus, to call Kazaks “shamanists” or “nominally Muslim nomads” is quite inappropriate.

But traditions and practices do exist among the Xinjiang Kazaks today, the origins of which precede the adoption of Islam. As pointed out by Ağai in his narrative, and by Benson and Svanberg,⁴⁷ these are visible within customs regarding birth, marriage and death, as well as naming, name-substitution, Kazak attitudes toward animals and nature, and various other cultural domains in the everyday life of the Kazaks. As evidenced by Ağai’s narrative, “shamanist” elements are especially observable within healing activities. Other ritual activities which are connected to ancient Inner Asian religion are also carried out by elders who are not necessarily shamans. In addition, traditional medicine based on the use of herbs and other external remedies is performed by healers, who are not *baqsy*. These healers are known by other names, such as *emşi* or *synyqsy*.

Other than Islam and “shamanism”, the influences of hybrid ethno-national allegiances and of modernity may be factored into current Xinjiang Kazak healing practices. Ağai’s narrative provides a certain amount of information on this issue, although communication of opinion may often be subtextual. I chose not to directly address questions regarding the ethno-national identity of the Xinjiang Kazaks as an ethnic minority within an ethnic minority in China.

That Ağai was able to simultaneously speak as an insider, one who knew about, witnessed and experienced “shamanism”, and an outsider, one who was able to describe

The eagle is a bird imbued with considerable totemic and mantic power, and its feathers are still used by Siberian Turkic shamans. The color blue represents the sky, as well as the East, most beneficial of the four cardinal directions, from which the sun rises. The flag of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan depicts a golden *tündük* (apex of the Kyrgyz felt home), also quasi-solar in appearance, which symbolizes the connection between humans and the divine sphere of existence. The background is red, which symbolizes the South, direction of summer heat and renewal of life, as well as the primal life force which animates the Universe. The choice of circles as the centerpieces for these flags is also not coincidental, as the circle is an important symbol in ancient Turkic religion.

47 Benson and Svanberg, *China’s Last Nomads*, 44–46.

and categorize it as a scholar, was fascinating in itself, a proof in my mind of his intellectual flexibility and sophistication. On the one hand, he was a loyal citizen of the People's Republic of China. He had advanced degrees and was a respectable scholar. On the other hand, he had been brought up as a Kazak at the foothills of the Alatau, knew his language and his ancestry thoroughly, and identified himself as a Kazak and a Muslim, and yet believed in the powers of the traditional healers, including the *baqsy*. The complex historical, political and cultural processes which affect an examination of the nature and scope of "shamanism" and traditional healing among the Kazaks of Xinjiang are parallel to those issues which confer to Ağai his unique position as a source of primary data on Kazak "shamanism".

Whether or not the phenomena which Ağai described are acceptable as "empirically real" or not is secondary to the purpose of this discussion. Beliefs and practices rooted in animism, shamanism or totemism (these discrete categorizations are alien, from the perspective of a "unified field of Kazak culture") coexist syncretically with practices and beliefs from Islam, and from other currents of culture, such as Manichaeism, Buddhism, or "modernism". Attempts to define this cultural territory are likely to provide only a map thereof. A good map is one drawn by a person who not only lives in that cultural territory, but has also explored and systematized it, both experientially, as a native, and reflexively, as a scholar. Ağai's taxonomy thus provides a view of traditional healing practices, without the application of excessively narrow or alien labels. In Ağai's words, the various aspects of Kazak culture described in his narrative are "*bir qazanda qaynağan etter*", or "pieces of meat stewing in the same pot".

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Simon Wickhamsmith

Transformation and Ecological Wisdom in the Nomadic Literature of G. Mend-Ooyo

[. . .] sun, moon, and stars, the changing seasons, seedtime and harvest, clouds, rain and rivers, the oceans and the forests, the creatures and the herbs. They are with us now, co-tenants of the phenomenal universe, participating in that timeless yearning that is evolution, vivid expression of time past, essential partners in survival and with us now involved with the creation of the future.¹

In his introduction to *Design With Nature*, from which my epigraph is taken, Ian McHarg offered an ecological and spiritual perspective from his own field of landscape planning. This is a field ostensibly at some remove from the literary work of the Mongolian writer G. Mend-Ooyo (b.1952), yet McHarg's witness that we are "co-tenants of the phenomenal universe" offers insights into how we might read Mend-Ooyo's work. It offers an appreciation of the physical and spiritual interaction of elements in our shared universe, which both authors assert is necessary for a future for humans defined by ecological balance and individual compassion.

My intention in this chapter is to explore how Mend-Ooyo's approach as a writer has developed as a response to the traditional nomadic cosmovision he learnt as a child and, latterly, promoted as one of Mongolia's leading advocates for this traditional culture, and its ecological worldview. Mend-Ooyo's writing pushes McHarg's idea of cotenancy along some radical trajectories and offers practical and occasionally unsettling ways in which we might think of the environment, echoing the deep ecology of Arne Naess and the spiritual ecology of theorists such as Joanna Macy, Leslie Sponsel and David Suzuki.²

I will discuss Mend-Ooyo's status as an ecological writer and thinker and show how, as "a child of nomadic Mongolia",³ his literary response to the environment as a whole, and to Mongolia's environment in particular, reflects the nomadic tradition that still defines much of Mongolia's contemporary culture. From my reading of his work, and from my many conversations with him, I have realized that Mend-Ooyo sees this nomadic tradition as participating in a transformative relationship with the environment. His life's work has been focused on reminding his readers of this relationship while asking them to remain aware of outside interventions – among them the socialist domination of nature, free market capitalism and the mining for natural resources, and the effects of tourism – that threaten ecological balance in Mongolia and throughout the world.⁴

1 McHarg, *Design With Nature*, 5.

2 See Sponsel, for an overview of spiritual ecology.

3 Mend-Ooyo, *Golden Hill*, 12.

4 "Nomads see the waters and the hills which make up the landscape, the rocks, and trees, and plants as being alive, and they regard them as though they were human, and so it is of the utmost importance

1 Child

Mend-Ooyo freely admits that he came somewhat late to books. Rather, it was seasonal movement as the child of a nomadic family that gave a poetic underpinning to his life from a very young age.

The wheels of the carts turned, and in the regular rhythm of the camels' padding gait the carts struggled towards the horizon. I gazed at the distant shapes playing among the flimsy, blue mirages, my child's mind wanting to fly ahead, in the belief that there would be something wondrous in the new place to which we were traveling. But the travel was limitless.⁵

His childhood during the late 1950s and early 1960s in the Sühbaatar region of south-east Mongolia came at a pivotal moment for traditional nomadic culture. Having failed to collectivize the country's livestock during the late 1920s, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) tried again in the immediate aftermath of the deaths of First Secretary of the MPRP H. Choibalsan in 1952 (the year Mend-Ooyo was born) and Josef Stalin a year later. The effect of these policies was that traditional herding practices were increasingly centralized and professionalized, and by 1960 most of the country's herding families had been assimilated into collective farms, or *negdels*, and were no longer herding independently nor able freely to safeguard and practice their indigenous knowledge systems.⁶

Mend-Ooyo's father was the well-known horsehead fiddle (*morin huur*) player D. Gombojav, and he was raised with an understanding of the musical, oral and cultural traditions of which the instrument was a part, and within the broader environment of oral literature, of stories, riddles, wordplay and epics. The mutuality that exists between the horse and the *morin huur* is rooted in the status of the horse within nomadic society: the relationship between a horse and its rider is a common literary trope. Indeed, in his "almanac" novel *Altan ovoo* (*Golden Hill*), written at the end of the 1980s, during the period of transition between Soviet socialism and Western-style democracy, Mend-Ooyo includes many stories and poems featuring horses, but also

that society today protect the natural world. This, perhaps, is the central theme which runs through all my work." (Mend-Ooyo, personal communication, 26 July 2020).

5 Mend-Ooyo. *Ongon and Other Essays*, 63.

6 See Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia*, 394–404. The term "indigenous knowledge systems" (IKS) is variously defined in relation to different communities, but UNESCO offers a broad and workable definition: "Local and indigenous knowledge refers to the understandings, skills and philosophies developed by societies with long histories of interaction with their natural surroundings. For rural and indigenous peoples, local knowledge informs decision-making about fundamental aspects of day-to-day life.

"This knowledge is integral to a cultural complex that also encompasses language, systems of classification, resource use practices, social interactions, ritual and spirituality.

"These unique ways of knowing are important facets of the world's cultural diversity, and provide a foundation for locally-appropriate sustainable development." (UNESCO).

recollections of his father and about the horsehead fiddle. These memories reveal his father's sensitivity toward his instrument:

One day, father was stringing his fiddle. He took a pinch of white hairs from his quilted pouch, and divided them into three parts. "So, first of all, son, you choose ninety-nine," he said, "and then you string the tongue; a second time you count up to one hundred and eight, and then a third time up to one hundred and fifty-three. Then you stop counting, and create the strings of wisdom and skillful means." While I counted the hairs, father asked me,

"How many strings do you reckon a fiddle has?" I found it hard to answer. People say that the horsehead fiddle has two strings, but as I counted, I saw that there were three hundred and sixty. I hesitated, as many people might have done.

"Two strings," I said. Father said,

How can you bring a song from two of anything? It seems that we run our fingers along two strings, but in fact there are three hundred and sixty of them. Everything has its reasons. Three hundred and sixty days to one year. But just one quality [. . .].⁷

There are many stories about how the *morin huur*, whose name comes from the fact that its neck is carved with the head of a horse and from the tail-hairs with which it is strung, developed through the interaction of horses and musicians: the horse gives its tail-hairs, which resound, under the bow of a sensitive musician, with the melody of its whinny. And among the Mongolian nomadic community, for whom journeys have traditionally been undertaken by horse, to hear the *morin huur* is to recall horses as individuals as well as in their historical and cultural roles.

The sound of the horse, like the sound of human language, has a power which transcends the communication of meaning. Seasonal travel for Mend-Ooyo as a child included, as I have said, learning the oral literature and listening to stories and poems, to the discussions of his parents and other elders and to songs sung while herding, during feasts and in more informal settings. In describing his writing, he frequently invokes the "power of words" (*ügiin erchim*), referring also to what he calls "waves of magical meaning" (*shidet utgyn dolgion*), counselling his audience to use language with care and wisdom while encouraging subtle and meaningful forays into creative expression.

The human interaction with the natural world, which is integral to nomadic life and to the nomadic worldview,⁸ constitutes a process of deep ecological education, a process learnt *with* and *in* nature, and with a respect for nature's destructive power as well as gratitude for its beneficence.⁹ Moreover, Mend-Ooyo's many accounts of his own experiences with horses and music, and the imaginative work he creates in response to these memories, show that Mongolia's nomads constituted at that time a society for which the protecting and conjuring power of the *morin huur*, the magical power of verbal and

⁷ Mend-Ooyo, *Golden Hill*, 206.

⁸ See Yoon, "Echoes of Mongolia's Sensory Landscape."

⁹ See, for instance, Mend-Ooyo's poem "The Storm" ("Shuurga"), mentioned below, a fictionalized account of a devastating snowstorm during his childhood. See Mend-Ooyo *Golden Hill*, 146–154.

nonverbal sound, and the totemic power of the horse (and, by extension, the natural world) exist holistically and centrally.¹⁰

As he grew up, surrounded by, interacting with and subject to, the natural world and the nomadic environment, Mend-Ooyo witnessed his perspective being educated – by necessity rather than from choice – through a process of adaptation. If we consider how McHarg’s idea of a holistic apprehension of nature can affect how we might live *with* it, then the Mongolian nomadic traditions likewise reflect the understanding upon which Mend-Ooyo’s work is founded: that “the actions of man in nature affect his own fate, that these actions are consequential, immediate, and relevant to life. There is, in this relationship, no non-nature category – nor is there either romanticism or sentimentality.”¹¹ That nomadic culture lacks a “non-nature category” is key to an understanding of Mend-Ooyo’s worldview, and his earliest work, written during his teens and early twenties, and to which I now turn, is pervaded by this deep ecological perspective, this interdependency, this sense of being nondifferent from the environment.

2 Stone

Mend-Ooyo still lives in Mongolia’s capital Ulaanbaatar, where he first moved as a fifteen-year-old student at the National Teachers’ University (Mongol Ulsyn Bolovсролн Их Сургуули). As a newly qualified teacher, he chose to be posted to Zamyn Üüd, a small town on the Chinese border, since he believed that such isolation would help him better concentrate on poetry. It was there that he met the poet B. Yavuuhulan (1929–1982), who would later become a mentor to Mend-Ooyo and to many of his generation, and who, in his role as poetry director for the Mongolian Writers’ Union, would guide Mend-Ooyo’s first book of poems, *Bodlyn shuvuu* (*Birds of Thought*), 1980, into the world.

As a child of Mongolia’s nomadic tradition, Mend-Ooyo is committed to its preservation and development. He acts as a keeper of indigenous knowledge, seeking to inform young Mongolians about their tradition, to revive interest among the older generation, and to introduce it to non-Mongolians. During the late 1980s, when the reforms promoted in the Soviet Union by Mikhail Gorbachev were beginning to be felt in Mongolia, he began to compose *Altan ovoo*, which he describes as an “almanac” (*almanak*) of poems, stories, reminiscences and meditations based around the hill of the same name in the Dariganga region of his home province of Sühbaatar. The word *ovoo* refers to a hill only by extension: its basic meaning is a cairn, constructed from stones, used both as a way marker and as an offering to the local spirits and to the sky, Tenger. Altan Ovoo holds a special place in Mend-Ooyo’s cosmology and, as I shall show, stones for him are explicit reminders of our physical, as well as spiritual, connection with our environment.

¹⁰ Marsh, *The Horse-Head Fiddle*, 30–39.

¹¹ McHarg, 68.

A stone from Altan Ovoo stood on the altar at the rear of the ger. My ancestors had in fact been worshipping it for five generations. The stone from Altan Ovoo rose amid the mighty flames, which promised eternal peace. The light of this world had dominion over the interplay of shadows, called upon a moment of time from a thousand years ago.

As my family wove their gilded stories about how Altan Ovoo had at a particular moment come into being, my ancestors were happily looking down upon us.

In the entire world, although regular and insignificant things are not given much attention, it seems to be the custom to make a big deal of unusual size. We could say that the body of Altan Ovoo was the broad expanse where the hill meets the plain, the high mountain peaks, the fertile mountain slopes, but all in miniature. Altan Ovoo is the world on a reduced scale.¹²

This is a kind of energetic fractalization, whereby a single stone expresses the place from which it has been taken, and in turn expresses the world in which it takes part. This is not a systemic micro/macrocosmic relationship, but an organic and spiritual interpenetration, a recognition of shared essence and shared process. Moreover, to place the stone on the family altar (*hoimor*) is to honor it (like a statue of the Buddha, for example) as a mediating presence between the physical and nonphysical worlds, and reflects the local understanding of Altan Ovoo, according to Mend-Ooyo¹³ as the respected elder brother to the hills and other natural features of the region.¹⁴

The importance, then, of the stone from Altan Ovoo was that, wherever the family moved, following the changing seasons, Altan Ovoo – its physical, spiritual, and energetic manifestation – would always remain present, as a kind of axis mundi to which they inclined. And though he moved to Ulaanbaatar, Mend-Ooyo remained inclined toward Altan Ovoo, writing about and discussing it, returning regularly to visit it, and keeping images of it in his office.¹⁵

In the late 1970s, Mongolia's relationship with its nomadic cosmovision had become compromised by the country's official relationship with the Soviet Union, predicated on financial support given in return for ideological adherence. For the publication of his first book of poetry,¹⁶ *Bodlyn shuvuu*, Mend-Ooyo chose as the opening poem "Golyn chuluu" ("River Stones"), which he had written in 1976. This poem is a meditation on the nature of stones and humans and reveals the liminality which for Mend-Ooyo

¹² Mend-Ooyo, *Golden Hill*, 4.

¹³ See Mend-Ooyo, *Golden Hill*, 80–83.

¹⁴ Mend-Ooyo has also written a cultural and historical companion to *Altan Ovoo*, about the hill and the surrounding area, to which the interested reader is directed (Mend-Ooyo 2008).

¹⁵ In fact, Altan Ovoo appears in the works of many writers from the Sühbaatar region, such as D. Maam (1935–1995), D. Shagdarsüren (1929–1977), and Mend-Ooyo's close friends D. Nyamsüren (1947–2002) and O. Dashbalbar (1957–1999).

¹⁶ As an indication of the ideological focus of the time, Yavuuhulan advised Mend-Ooyo to include in his original manuscript a poem showing suitable deference to the Soviet Union. "At the Lenin Museum" ("Leninii muzeid," Mend-Ooyo, 13) is consequently in some contrast to the book's other, more contemplative, poems.

exists between individual entities, and by extension between species, and which is the primary defining factor in his thinking about ecology and environment.

Watching the river's flow,
I clear my thoughts.
Like thoughts cast aside,
the river flows.
Like words made clear,
the stones remain.

Polishing the stones so deep,
the current flows without hindrance.
As the days and months turn, sand
rubs dust from the stones,
the blue of the sky dissolves like paint, and
the brown of the earth is absorbed like fat,
all into the stones of this river,
who take their hues from the sky and earth.

Water and stones constantly mingle,
playing their melodious song.
The strings of this fine-toned
fiddle are the stones in the river.
Tuned to the key of earth, with one voice
they raise their melody to the broad world.
Without these river stones,
the land would lack fine song.

Forever in the depths, the river stones
cast spots upon the water's surface.
Finding ten thousand patterns in the river,
people carve them into ornaments.
Finding elegant verses in the river,
poets craft them into poetry.
Without these river stones,
the land would lack for simple artistry.

Polishing the stones so deep,
the current flows without hindrance.
As the years turn, the stones
are rubbed smaller and smaller, and
though the water is ever gentle, a stone
here in her caresses becomes a stone worn away,
and over time makes peace, and
there a stone will grow.

On the riverbank, I realize how
the water sucks on the stones.
In my thoughts, I understand how

humans drink the stones.
 This body of mine, I fathom,
 is stone, right to its very cells.¹⁷

McHarg points out that to use ecologically sensitive design is to recognize that “[e]very organism occupies a niche in an ecosystem and engages with cooperative arrangements with the other organisms sustaining the biosphere.”¹⁸ The holism of “River Stones” also speaks to this interdependence of organisms in the biosphere, and the organic relationship between what appear to be discrete parts of an ecosystem. The consequence of apprehending one’s body as a stone “right to its very cells” (which is not so much metaphor as direct experience) is to apprehend that body as being (like Altan Ovoo) “the world on a reduced scale”, even as it takes part in McHarg’s cooperative biosphere. Mend-Ooyo’s poem enacts this cooperation, whereby a stone is a human is a stone . . .¹⁹

It is because of the inexorable turning of seasons and years that this transformation takes place: a by-product of aging, it is seen also as a by-product of maturation, a realization of something vital, perceptible only at the cellular, or psychospiritual, level. Mend-Ooyo’s language (here in “River Stones” but elsewhere too) forces us to think again about what it means to be human (or indeed about what it means to *be*), about how our apparent (but increasingly uncertain) solidity interacts with the fluidity of the biosphere and the way we – individually and as a society – inhabit it.

It is hard, then, and perhaps unprofitable, from within this holistic worldview, to discuss “humans” as somehow separate from “nature”, and Mend-Ooyo has tended, consistently and deliberately, to focus in his work on an explicit description of the creative tension which exists between human-as-nature and human-as-actor. This draws us, as readers, into a conversation with our own experience of this tension as part of the natural world: are we taking-part-in nature; are we separate-from nature; are we interacting-with nature; are we condescending-toward nature; are we keeping-a-respectful-distance-from nature; are we fractals-of nature . . . ? Such questions are central to Mend-Ooyo’s thinking and reflective of the immediate environment his work inhabits. In this way, while he writes in Mongolian for Mongolian readers, his concern that his work be translated into other languages (and his commitment to poetry as a transnational language) suggests that he sees his audience as being international. And, with growing public concern for ecological issues such as biodiversity, the mining of fossil fuels and global warming, he has become more explicit in how he presents his message to a global audience. I will show later how he expresses this most starkly in

¹⁷ Mend-Ooyo, *Bodlyn shuvuu*, 5–6.

¹⁸ McHarg, 121.

¹⁹ The blurred boundary between stones and humans is particularly obvious in the phenomenon of *hün chuluu* (“human stones”), which fulfill similar and interrelated roles as waymarkers and protectors as, among others, the *inuksuit* of the peoples of the Arctic region (see Hallendy).

“Heer talaas bichsen zahidluud” (“Letters from the Wild Steppe”),²⁰ but even in “River Stones” there exists a clear and direct perception of the indistinct and slippery edges between “humans” and “nature” alongside the explicit need for humans to recognize these deeper and aeonic shifts, through which stones and humans (and, by extension, all other things) morph into one another and exert influence beyond their physical borders.

For nomadic herders, a deep and embodied understanding of weather patterns is essential for the effective husbandry of their flocks, and so for their own survival and that of their families. Rain and snow, and sun and wind are all important characters in Mend-Ooyo’s work not simply because survival depends upon a wise reading of their movements but in recognition that this wise reading emerges from a mutually respectful interaction with them, and with the meteorological systems by which they are produced.

3 Mist

Mist – thickened by rain and snow, moved by the wind, and broken up and transfixed by the sun – provides a context in which disorientation can enable a person to locate themselves physically in a landscape defined by the elements, and spiritually in a landscape defined by the emotions. The frisson of psychedelic disassociation which comes from finding yourself enveloped in mist, unsure of where, if anywhere, will be safe for the next footfall, is well expressed in this passage from Mend-Ooyo’s prose poem from the late 1990s, “Heseg tsagaan manan” (“A Patch of White Mist”):

A patch of white mist crept along beyond the encampment and the sheep, balancing itself above the livestock pens like a cloak. Here was where I had been born, among these autumn quarters cloaked in mist. As a little boy of five, I would run after the mists, scattering the dew from the grasses with my wet shins.

How lovely was the clarity of my life out in the wild countryside, what could be more extraordinary? Our horses were clearly visible and then, before I could look again, they became invisible. The mists hung poised.

I chased them away . . . I ran and ran, and when I looked back, my ger was gone . . . I was amazed. The tail of the patch of white mist slid around, like the snake moving at the bottom of my father’s silver mug. The tethers that held the cows came into view, then the water-cart, then the young brown camels, lying down. Beyond them, our ger showed dimly, and suddenly I grew frightened and rushed home.²¹

The mists are acknowledged for their movement and for their behavior and, in how Mend-Ooyo chases them away, their relational and reactive characters. This is not a

²⁰ See Mend-Ooyo. *Gol us tunglagshih tsag*, 331–347. Translated in *Journal of Central and Inner Asian Dialogue* 1, Number 1 (Summer 2013): 48–65.

²¹ Mend-Ooyo, *A Patch of White Mist*, 56.

description suggesting the kind of studied, “finely developed and refined ecological conscience and consciousness” ascribed by William Rueckert to the American poet Gary Snyder,²² nor is it a pathetic fallacy. Rather, from the point of view of someone who, from birth, has lived in relationship with the landscape, it is a direct and lived experience.

The disorientation described by Mend-Ooyo reflects the absolute envelopment by mist out on the steppe, where there are no lights for guidance nor buildings for echolocation.²³ With the subtle lifting of the mist, animals and ropes appear, leading him back to safety. This same sense that the weather is unmoved by individual human feelings is found in “The Storm”,²⁴ in which Mend-Ooyo is left as a child to guard the ger by his father, who goes to check on the sheep, and then by his mother and sister, who go to check on his father. As the wind howls and the snow piles up outside, it is made very clear that, as his father says when the storm has finally passed and the family is once again together and safe, they could easily have lost everything, including their lives.

The porous boundaries which Mend-Ooyo’s work reveals present survival not simply as a matter of “staying alive” but as a cocreated process of living that is at once far more fleeting on the level of the individual, and far more constant on the level of the biosphere. To recognize this, moreover, is to emphasize the importance of humans working in relation to, and collaboration with, nonhumans in a spirit of humility. Mend-Ooyo’s realization at seven years old, that “If this storm had not subsided, / [...] we’d not be sitting there then”, remains for him a *memento mori* and offers us a reminder of our uncertain future.

While awareness of the physicality of the interaction between weather and landscape is a life-skill for nomadic societies, during the last three or four decades of socialism in Mongolia (from around 1950 until 1990), while the processes of urbanization, industrialization and collectivization brought technological advancement, they also compromised the importance of traditional knowledge. In response to this, Mend-Ooyo set out during the late 1980s – beginning with *Altan ovo* – to encourage the understanding (if not the practice) of traditional language arts such as calligraphy, storytelling and poetry, to support other traditional knowledge systems such as herbal medicine, Buddhism and shamanism, and to encourage public awareness of Mongolia’s environmental and ecological diversity.

Indeed, his concerns around the time of Mongolia’s democratic revolution of 1989/1990 about how nomadic culture would weather life after socialism have some res-

²² Rueckert, “Literature and Ecology,” 116.

²³ I have never had this experience of being enveloped by mist on the steppe, but I once arrived (with Mend-Ooyo) at a ger in the pitch darkness of night with no idea until morning of the landscape which surrounded me. I discovered then how the flat grassland stretched for many kilometers to the horizon, that there were no other ger in the vicinity, and I realized how unprepared I had been, under the disorienting blanket of night, for what I was now seeing. While mist may be more sudden, and even more disorienting, than night (given that night, at least, is both gradual and expected), I was left with the feeling that, had I needed to find my way in the dark, I would have become immediately and hopelessly lost, surrounded by another kind of mist.

²⁴ See footnote 9.

onance with those of thinkers like McHarg during the industrial and social transformation of the 1950s and 1960s. Issues such as how to handle pollution, how to develop green spaces in urban areas and how to negotiate population growth and land use have all become factors in Mongolia's regeneration as a democratic and progressive civil society. Mend-Ooyo's literary work is striking in how, with very broad thematic strokes and very specific imagery, it asks that we consider our engagement with our environment, and our relational awareness of our place within it. McHarg's analysis of the problems which defined the relationship between humans and the natural world during the late 1960s prefigured much of what Mend-Ooyo has expressed in his more recent writing:

Clearly the problem of man and nature is not one of providing a decorative background for the human play, or even ameliorating the grim city: it is the necessity of sustaining nature as source of life, milieu, teacher, sanctum, challenge and, most of all, of rediscovering nature's corollary of the unknown in the self, the source of meaning.²⁵

And, while such issues of self-worth and self-awareness might be intellectually clear to us, the mist in our postindustrial mind tends to obscure them, and we become confused, uncertain of what we are seeing and how these things can be understood. For Mend-Ooyo:

While the appearance of the green of the hills, the brown-red color of the rocks, the shapes of the gers, and the livestock, are lovely, how striking and remarkable it is to see all of this amid the mists.

Amid the mists, do the frequency of time, the contemplation of worldly noise, the obliterated images and places in history, the deep thoughts and bright spirits of the universe, still remain?²⁶

Despite the clarity, then, with which he describes the holistic relationships between humans and stones, and between the interdependent elements of the cosmos, Mend-Ooyo remains disorientated sometimes by the weather of the cosmos, and by these thick mists. This subtle trickster quality of nature, its mischief at once coldhearted and playful, is another reminder that a human is indeed no more, nor less, worthy of the universe's protection than any other being.

4 Birds

The immanence of the spiritual and transcendent in Mongolian culture is shown with especial clarity in the fact that the term *tenger* is used both for the *hoh tenger* (blue sky), which frequently defines Mongolia in ethnographic or travel literature and for the *ih tenger* (primary deity) of the Mongol pantheon. The sky is not where the deity "resides,"

²⁵ McHarg, 19.

²⁶ Mend-Ooyo, *A Patch of White Mist*, 61.

as Heaven is where the Judaeo-Christian God “resides”; rather it is the deity, omniscient, omnipotent and constant, the source of precipitation, temperature, and sunshine, and thereby of punishment and blessing.²⁷

Birds move between the earth and the sky, transcending literally the separateness of the two, and figuratively communicating the one to the other. In his short 2004 poem “Divaaajin ba altan haraatsai” (“Paradise and Swallows”), Mend-Ooyo describes how, on returning to his homeland, his apperception of the physical and nonphysical is mediated by swallows.

A mirage on the deep blue steppe may be a heavenly city,
and my ancestors are forever in this paradise.
A few swallows out on the ropes on this lonely steppe
welcome me to my father's country.
A thick blue mist cuts across the sky's tether, and
those swallows take turns to guide me with their wings.²⁸

There was no eponymous poem in *Birds of Thought*, Mend-Ooyo's first book. Perhaps each of the poems was a bird of thought. The communication between birds and humans has a key role in Mend-Ooyo's work, revealing – as it does here – that this relationship is one of mutual protection and guidance as though their mediation between earth and sky were a manifestation of spiritual wisdom, like that of the hoopoe in Sufi poetry, the owl among the Ainu or of a slippage of identity. Indeed, as Joni Adamson and Juan Carlos Galeano suggest, such “boundary-crossing” beings “may have the ability to slip into, and out of, human form. They might behave like humans, or they might become animal”.²⁹

The detailed observation of bird behavior – their nesting and foraging, their mating and care of their young, and their migration – is a common trope in Mongolian literature. The presence of birds in Mend-Ooyo's work reflects the kind of keen observation – of weather patterns, for instance, as described in the previous section – which is essential for preserving a harmonious ecological relationship, and which is in turn essential for survival. In “Döchin negen hungiin duuli” (“The Ballad of the Forty-One Swans”), Mend-Ooyo tells the story of a childless old couple who rescue a cygnet who, with an injured wing and unable to fly, has been left behind by his flock.

Over the winter, the couple tend the cygnet, raising him “as their child”. When spring comes, the now healed and fully-grown swan returns to the lake where the old couple had found him, to join the flock, now returned for the summer. The tenderness shown to the swan by the old couple, their nurturing of him, and the simple love and

²⁷ See Turner, *Sky Shamans of Mongolia*.

²⁸ Mend-Ooyo, *On tsagiin hürd*, 213.

²⁹ Adamson and Galeano, “Why Bears, Yakumama (Mother of All Water Beings), and Other Transformational Beings Are (Still) Good To Think,” 225.

care of one species toward another, suggests neither a sentimental anthropomorphism nor an attachment to this adoptive “child” on the part of the old couple. But when, in autumn, the flock migrates again, the swan hangs back to say goodbye to his “parents”:

In one of those wonderful moments the world throws up, it is said that, as the old man and woman watched, as the flock flew off in a V-formation, as if in a mirror, one of the swans was flying home. And, as that one swan circled over the smoke-pipe of the old couple's brown ger, the entire flock threaded their way back, pleading with him one after the other, a line of swans like prayer beads strung together. And so they set off along their path.³⁰

In telling this story, Mend-Ooyo is not so much concerned with the need for sensitivity and care regarding nature, but with offering a reminder of the intimacy of our shared world. The old couple look after the cygnet because they are compassionate but also because they have, whether consciously or unconsciously, an understanding that by doing so they preserve the natural balance in which they play an integral role. Moreover, not seeking to look after an injured bird would upset both this external balance and their internal balance, such an unnatural response setting them apart within their own ecosystem. And the cygnet, at once adopted as the child of humans and acknowledged as a mature swan by his own flock, reciprocates their compassion by circling the old couple's ger. In being recognized as a member of both families, she shifts between them in the way of “boundary-crossing” described by Adamson and Galeano.

The intimacy exemplified by the gratitude shown by the swan is found elsewhere in Mend-Ooyo's writing about birds. In the fourth of the eight letters which make up his 2012 essay “Mongolyn heer talaas bichsen zahidluud” (“Letters from Mongolia's Wild Steppe”), he describes the effect of avian influenza (H5N1) between 2005 and 2008, in addition to the more general ecological problems for waterfowl caused by water shortage. What we might dismiss as the pathetic fallacy of the birds' tears should not allow us to read this as simply a poetic response, since the birds' circling in search of water and their avoidance by humans fearful of infection were visible effects of environmental change and genetic mutation.

It's been said that for three years there has been a drought on the land where the tears of birds in flight used to fall. The birds fly, circling their homeland, searching for lake water, they look down and it's as though these words are piercing them through the heart. Certainly as these nomadic birds move around, the waters where they come to land decrease in number. Some of them are polluted. In recent years, these creatures used to fresh air and water have begun to suffer from a disease called avian flu, they have been dying everywhere in great numbers, and there has been fear and horror which has manifested in the shunning of close contact between birds and humans.³¹

The situation described here, when read alongside “The Ballad of the Forty-One Swans”, offers a salutary commentary on the way in which greed and fear leads us to focus on

³⁰ Mend-Ooyo, *Golden Hill*, 28–29.

³¹ Mend-Ooyo, *Gol us tungalagshih tsag*, 339.

our own survival, sometimes at the expense of the survival of another individual (of whatever species), of another species, or (as is the theme of Mend-Ooyo's letters taken as a whole) of the environment.

I have sought thus far to show how Mend-Ooyo's account in his work of the interaction of, among others, the human, mineral, meteorological and faunal persons within our shared environment expresses an attitude which privileges the biosphere over more ephemeral and individualized concerns.³² Like McHarg – and like other ecological thinkers such as James Lovelock, Joanna Macy and Arne Naess – Mend-Ooyo's vision is collaborative rather than oppositional. In the last section, I will show how his love for “Delhii Eej” (“Mother Earth”) has developed through his observation of the treatment of the natural world in Mongolia and abroad, and the practical and philosophical implications of this approach.

5 Mother

It is salutary to suggest that the path and direction of evolution may not be identical to human ideas of destiny: that man, while the current, latest, dominant species, may not be an enduring climax; that brain may or may not be the culmination of biological evolution or it might in contrast be an aberration, a spinal tumor, and finally, although no man will hear it, the algae may laugh last. The burden of proof, then, lies with man and brain. He is required to demonstrate that he is capable of understanding and managing the world of life to ensure survival.³³

Despite being written more than fifty years ago, McHarg's analysis remains pertinent. Neither the environmental movement of the 1970s and 1980s nor the fierce debates over fossil fuels and renewable resources, nor the increased evidence of global warming (and the debates regarding its anthropogenic explanation), have had a marked effect on the changing situation within our biosphere.

Mongolia is a sparsely populated country with vast reserves of both natural mineral resources and wind and solar power.³⁴ Mend-Ooyo's eight ecological letters addresses ecological issues whose urgency was, at the time they were written in 2012, heightened by the contemporaneous mining boom, which promised Mongolians considerable wealth, but which was also a vestige of the country's industrialized Soviet and free-mar-

³² I use “persons” deliberately, following the lead of (among many others) Kimmerer 2015. I hope that I have shown in this paper the way in which Mend-Ooyo regards, and relates to, the nonhuman persons in the world, and it seems that, in a ecocritical paper such as this, it is appropriate to ask that we as readers reevaluate the language we use regarding the issues raised in his work.

³³ McHarg, 44.

³⁴ For reserves of natural mineral resources, see Narangoa, *Mongolia in 2011*, 81–87; and for reserves in wind and solar power, see Kitchell, “A Ray of Hope,” accessed 17 July 2020, <https://blog.mongolia-properties.com/a-ray-ofhope-mongolia-burgeoning-solar-power-industry>.

ket post-Soviet past.³⁵ While focusing his gaze on the situation in Mongolia, the subjects he covers – including climate change, hunting, mining, biodiversity, pollution, and the availability of fresh water – reflect the broader ecological context and in translation spread a message of shared concern, as well as encouraging individuals elsewhere to look at the situation in their own region.

These letters emerge from Mend-Ooyo's experience, both as a nomad and as a public intellectual, to form a kind of poetic broadside, emphasizing on the one hand the inter-species relationships, which I have described above, while on the other appealing to the sentiment and practical self-preservation of his human readers. If we human persons continue to treat our environment as a source of short-term gain and immediate pleasure, he says, we will not survive long: in McHarg's words, "the algae may laugh last".³⁶ But if we reconnect with our environment, if we treat nonhuman persons (animals, insects, birds, flowers and plants and trees, and water and soil and air) as cocreators, as our extended family, as worthy of respect and compassion, then the world as we know it might have a chance of survival.

With this message in mind, in the fifth essay, Mend-Ooyo develops the social and cultural significance of gold, of which Mongolia has the world's second-largest reserve.³⁷

This word *gold* represents the riches beneath the land, the special frequency of its ore and its rocks, the plants and the weather and the landscape, and in this way the spring of power and knowledge nourishes and influences the character of human beings and animals. An old herder said that the plants and flowers and insects are all in proper relation to one another on the earth and, one autumn, when the wormwood was vigorously spreading across the steppe, he told us, "gather it up, dry it out, and store it away – you'll need it come the spring." And in spring, when we got a severe cough, we suppressed it with the wormwood. Another old herder named Bōjōō said that "the plants have predicted that you will have need of them," advice which I have never forgotten. Human civilisation should come together to grow and propagate the trees and plants, that they might produce seeds which are scattered and take root and so green mother Earth.³⁸

The corollary of this indigenous medical knowledge is that those bearing responsibility for this knowledge necessarily take greater care of their environment. The idea that there exists among plants an awareness of human needs is one which tends to be ignored, or at worst rejected, in contemporary urban society, but it is closely aligned to the attitudes of respect and gratitude found in indigenous communities throughout the world.³⁹ And yet, despite the healing benefit accrued from them, little or no gratitude, or

35 The political and social tensions in Mongolia caused by the post-Soviet economic turmoil were the subject of a series of open letters written by Mend-Ooyo's friend, the poet and politician O.Dashbalbar (1957–1999). These texts are included in Dashbalbar 2008, 263–384.

36 McHarg, 196.

37 See David, "The Great Mongolian Gold Rush," accessed 17 July 2020, https://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune_archive/2003/12/22/356094/index.htm; and *High, Fear and Fortune*.

38 Mend-Ooyo, *Gol us tungalagshih tsag*, 343.

39 See Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*.

even acknowledgement, is given to the plants used for treating common ailments, such as the digitalins extracted from the woolly foxglove (*D. lanata*), upon which the standard treatment for atrial fibrillation has for many decades been based. Just as Mend-Ooyo asks in his poetic work that we pay attention to stones and weather and birds, so here he recognizes the mutuality between humans and plants, and the need to nurture it, over time and for ecological health.

In 1980, the year that his first book *Bodlyn shuvuu* was published, Mend-Ooyo wrote a poem, “Delhii Eej” (“Mother Earth”), which was subsequently set to music by the composer P. Enhbazar and became one of the most popular songs of the time. Compared with the other texts I have discussed here, “Mother Earth” is less obviously “literary”, with more of a popular, heartwarming appeal coming from the idea of love between a mother and child.⁴⁰ But this is not a metaphorical mother, but rather a literal one, birthing humanity from her womb (*hün törölhtnüg hevleesee törүүл*), a description evoking also the Buddhist injunction to regard all beings as having all been, in a previous lifetime, our own mother. The direct personal invocation of the song brings us full circle to the gradual merging and transformation between rocks and humans and asks that we live our lives in gratitude, caring for the earth our mother rather than living our lives alienated from her.

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⁴⁰ An interesting parallel exists between this poem and O. Dashbalbar’s (1957–1999) poem, “Amidaa biye biyenee hairla, хүмүүс ee” (“Love One Another, My People”), also written in 1980. Dashbalbar’s poem was also set to music by A. Jargalsaihan and offered an influential social message (similar to the ecological message of Mend-Ooyo’s poem) to young Mongolians during the final decade of Soviet influence.

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Female Toponymy of Kazakhstan

1 Introduction

A greater significance of toponyms for understanding women's history has increased in the last decade.¹ Decoding female toponymy remains an unexplored topic in place-name studies in Kazakhstan, located in the center of Central Asia, sharing borders with Russia, China and the Turkic republics of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. The country's mixed cultural and historical past has greatly affected its toponymy.² Because Kazakhs are not a monolithic people with an unmixed history, it would be impossible to cover every angle within its cultural and linguistic past within the confines of this chapter. The task of this paper is not to identify, collect and interpret all female geographical names located in the vast territory of Kazakhstan but to start a discussion on female toponymy within it.

Judging from published literature, most toponymical investigations in Kazakhstan and Central Asia focus on etymology, ethnolinguistics and historical geography. Very little scholarly work analyzes the history of toponyms through the lens of gender.³ While discussing the role of women in the history and culture of Kazakhstan, scholars tend to reinforce an idea of Kazakh women having had high status. Literature reviews support this claim, and female toponyms tend to provide the soundest evidence for this statement.

This research contributes to an improved understanding of women's social position and what, more importantly, the sacred value women held in the nomadic past by giving insight into the symbolic representation of women in place names and analyzing female toponymy of the pre-Soviet era within the territory of contemporary Kazakh-

1 Ilse Laude-Cirtautas (1926–2019) was not only a colleague but a soulmate of my late grandfather Shora Sarybayev (1925–2018), a linguist, Turkologist and one of the founders of dialectology of Kazakh language. They used to gather at our house in Almaty for *beşbarmak* and tea made by my grandmother Qymbat. My mother often recalls these short visits full of laughter, joy and recollections. I am happy to learn more about Ilse apa and her life from her student, my friend, Alva Robinson. It is a great honor for me to have an opportunity to contribute to this edition as a researcher in history.

2 Major trade arteries of the Silk Road in what is present-day Kazakhstan began forming in the second century BCE, becoming home to many cultures. See Kuzmina, *The Prehistory of the Silk Road*.

3 The beginning of this research dates to 2016 when Women of Kazakhstan, an NGO, presented its first exhibition at the National Library of Kazakhstan in Almaty. One of the exhibition's sections, "Female Streets of Almaty", had two main goals: first, to identify female streets in Almaty and place them within a digital map; second, to exhibit their biographies and photographs and create an online photo gallery. Since the exhibition's launch, it became clear that any further research focused on urban and rural toponymy connected to women and future exhibitions cannot be fulfilled without further historical research on the earlier toponymy used by nomadic Kazakhs. See Assanova and Zhanguitina, "Women's Museums in Kazakhstan," 140–151.

stan. New perspectives provided herein can widen the scope for continued research on female toponymy of Kazakhstan and beyond.

The first part of the paper gives a brief historical background on the toponymy and female toponymy of Kazakhstan. This is followed by a discussion on the female anthropotonyms (toponyms derived from anthroponyms) of the administrative areas of the country (administrative toponyms) and their quantitative analysis. The revealed data demonstrates a prevailing number of male anthropotonyms and very few female ones. Moreover, most male anthropotonyms seem to have been named after historical figures, while female anthropotonyms do not carry any historical background, with only one referring to the feminine gender image and female body part: *qız emşek* (girl's breast).⁴

The second part of the paper deals with the female toponyms of three regions located in different parts of the country (regional toponyms). The analyzed toponyms include names of administrative units, villages, rivers, lakes and mountains. Quantitative and text analyses of this group of female toponyms show a higher number of female anthropotonyms compared to administrative ones, of which more than half are identified as autochthonous thus were not affected by Russian colonial and postindependent place naming processes. The analyses also reveal that most autochthonous are indigenous, native, female toponyms containing feminine gender images: *qız* (girl), *äiel* (woman), *kempir* (elderly women). Without knowing the cultural background of these gender images, one may interpret them as evidence of an act of impersonalization intended to erase the names of women, and their history in general. However, this kind of impersonalized place-naming can be attributed as the opposite of intended erasure and exclusion of female names and can help researchers identify the act of female impersonalization in Kazakh toponymy as a means of protecting women's sacred names.

Finally, the last section of this chapter aims at providing examples of Turkic toponyms based on feminine gender images in other Turkic speaking countries. Findings show that they are widely spread across Turkic speaking areas.

2 History of the Toponymy of Kazakhstan

The toponymy of Kazakhstan is very diverse and “is characterized by a multilayered onomastic system due to the nomadic culture, worldview, oral memory, religious-cult symbols”.⁵ Although most of the territory of Kazakhstan has been inhabited by nomadic

4 *Kız* (girl) is one of the gender images of feminine names, alongside *äiel* (woman), *qatun* (married woman) and *kempir* (elderly woman).

5 Erofeeva, “Istoricheskaya toponimika Kazakhstana,” 66.

tribes, it had ancient cities and “was the cradle of a specific civilization of a complete symbiotic relationship between cattle breeders and farmers, urban and steppe”.⁶

Turkic tribes began inhabiting Central Asia since the VI century and integrated with locals, forming a great part of their population by the Middle Ages (sixth to thirteenth century CE).⁷ According to Shamsiddin Kamoliddin, historian, “Toponyms with Turkic origins on the toponymic landscape of Central Asia formed during this period, and a number of them are still present nowadays.”⁸ When considering the Turkic toponymy in general, it is seen that most toponyms are formed by the following associations: parts of body (human and animal); basic astronomic names; terrains and natural phenomena; colors; and numerals.⁹ However, there are a number of local peculiarities for each Central Asian country.

Historically, in Kazakhstan “there were two main sources of the toponymy: the name of the owner of the land as well as the landscape”.¹⁰ This can be explained by the nomadic heritage Kazakhs have drawn upon. In contrast to sedentary societies, which place emphasis on individuals, nomadic societies stressed the importance of tribes. Strong kinship and family lines of Kazakhs were thus systematized within a tribal system – *üs jüz* (three hordes) – which included tribal groups and subtribal groups.¹¹ The names of these two groups of genonyms were often used in naming practices.¹² Once the genonyms were placed in the toponymy, they became genotoponyms.¹³ We can still find some of genotoponyms named after such tribes, like Adai and Esentemir, or subtribal groups like Balta and Aidabol. Although the topic of toponyms in Kazakhstan arising from female genonyms has not yet been studied, toponyms based on female genonyms like Dauletbike, Altun and Aibike demonstrates the presence of female genotoponyms and requires further research.¹⁴

Across time, the toponymical landscape of the territory of Kazakhstan went through several transformations that brought various components to the toponymical landscape. Erkebay Kojčubaev, philologist (1914–?), divides the toponyms of Kazakhstan into five main layers: “1) ancient layers of early language elements; 2) ancient layers comprising Turkic-Mongolic and Turkic-Iranic language elements; 3) a Turkic-language layer; 4)

6 Bajpakov, “Ètapy urbanizacij v drevnem,” 171.

7 The Central Asia region comprises the countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

8 Kamoliddin, *Ancient Türkic Toponyms*, 102–104.

9 Abjanova, “Osnovnye problem toponimiki Kazaxstana,” 25.

10 Selishev, *Iz staroj i novoj toponimii*, 69.

11 Traditional Kazakh society was divided into three hordes “*jüz*”, which are, in turn, divided into tribal groups .“*ru*”.

12 Superanskaja, *Čto takoe toponimika?* 84 genonyms 86.

13 Superanskaja, 89–90.

14 Seidimbekov, *Poyušije kupola*, 117.

Kazakh, Kirgiz, Altai, Karakalpak, Bashkir, Uzbek, Uyghur layers; 5) a Russian toponymic layer.”¹⁵

The beginning of the formation of Russian toponymic layer started in the eighteenth century because of the expansion of the Russian Empire into Central Asia. Russian presence started with the construction of a line of forts along the boundaries of present-day Kazakhstan accompanied by new geographical names and renaming processes. Starting in the eighteenth century, Russian administration realized that “the process of colonization of the territory of Kazakhstan can and should be controlled by changing geographical names, which could automatically erase from the memory of the people their historically occupied territories and expand the borders of the Russian Empire”.¹⁶

Political and legal reforms, as well as economic policies from the second half of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century aimed at colonizing and sedentarizing processes.¹⁷ The arrival of a large wave of Russian peasants, who tended to occupy the best pastureland for agriculture according to policies of the administration of the Russian Empire, led to changes in the routes of pastures and eventual destruction of traditional nomadic routes.¹⁸ This marked the beginning of the collapse of nomadic culture along the Kazakh steppe, resulting in ideological that impacted approaches the toponymy as well.¹⁹

Major changes in the toponymy of Kazakhstan were brought about after the Russian revolution in 1917. This was followed by a postrevolutionary Soviet period, with its urbanization, industrialization and massive migration of different ethnos, that was vividly reflected in country's toponymy, especially in urban toponymy. Almaty streets in the 1960s, for example, were named after various Soviet Republics, regions and cities: Armjanskaja, Ukrainskaja, Baškirskaia, Dalnevostočnaja (Far East), Bakinskaja, Batumskaja, etc.²⁰ According to a 1959 census, the population of Kazakhstan amounted to 9,294,700 people, of which Kazakhs comprised thirty percent, Russians 42.7%, Ukrainians 8.2%, Germans 7.1%, and other ethnic groups 7.1%. After Kazakhstan gained independence in 1991, toponymy within Kazakhstan became the subject of new transformations in line with new paradigms created by the sociopolitical and cultural development of the entire country.

¹⁵ One of the first toponymic researches of Kazakhstan was carried out by Kojčubaev, in his work *Kratkij tolkovyj slovar' toponimov Kazaxstana*, 5.

¹⁶ Ksenžik, “Toponimika Kazaxstana.”

¹⁷ Shaukenov, “Changes in the Political and Legal System of Kazakhstan in the Process of its Incorporation into the Russian Empire from the Second Half of the 18th Century to the End of the 19th Century”, 279–301.

¹⁸ See Thomas, *Nomads and Soviet Rule*.

¹⁹ The geography of the annexation of Kazakhstan and Central Asia has been recreated, analyzed and compared in great detail using not only documentary sources but also maps in the book of Bekmaxanova, *Prisoedinenie Central'noj Azii*.

²⁰ Malyar, *Alma-Ata: gorod, raioni, ulitsi*.

3 Status of Women in the History of Kazakhstan

The study of gender disparities as it concerns toponymy is a relatively untreated topic. Most of the works on female toponymy and the marginalization of women center around urban toponymy. However, rural areas contain another autochthonic layer that is of a great importance. Territorial changes of Kazakhstan in the early nineteenth century accompanied by the pull of Russian frontiers resulted in the loss of much of the evidence existing on female names in the topography of Kazakhstan long before the onslaught of Tsarist Russia.²¹ Still, analyses of female toponyms presented herein provides limited yet essential data to understand gender aspects of the toponymy and common practices of female place naming. Focusing on the case of Kazakhstan's autochthonic female toponyms of the pre-Soviet period, special attention is given to a historical overview of the role women played in Turkic society.

The evidence of a woman's high status in Turkic society can be found in archeology, as well as oral and written sources. The presence of a cult of women can be clearly traced from a number of petroglyphs,²² archeological findings,²³ mausoleums and stone sculptures.²⁴ There are many examples of the rather free and high status of women in different historical periods: Old Turkic and later periods.²⁵ Several comments on female power and the freedom of Kazakh women can be found in the works of foreign travelers to Central Asia including Armenius Vamberi,²⁶ Thomas and Lucy Atkinson,²⁷ Taras Shevchenko and many more.

One of the main reasons behind the high position of women in the social structure of nomadic society was determined by the very form of nomadic pastoralism.²⁸ The economics of nomadic pastoralism implied mobility and physical strength from both men and women.

The significance of women in nomadic society can be observed in Kazakh oral traditions and folklore. Depictions of female characters in most Kazakh historical epics

21 The reforms of 1822 "Siberian Kirgiz statute" and 1824 "The confirmed opinion of Asian Affairs Committee on reformation of Orenburg region" brought big administrative, judicial and territorial changes.

22 Medoyev, *Gravjury na skalax*.

23 Seregin, "Obščie i osobennye xarakteristiki ženskix pogrebenij rannesrednevekovyx," 61–69; Altynbekov and Altynbekova, "Pogrebenie znatnoj zhenščiny," 193–201; Zuev, "Naučnyj mif o «savromatskix žricax»," 54–68.

24 Kubarev, "Drevnetjurkskie izvajaniya," 93–103.

25 Old Turkic refers to a period in the history of Turkic languages and most often alludes to the language of the Kōk Türk Empire and of the old Uyghurs. See Gholi and Mosaabad, "Image of Oriental Turkmen Female Travelees," 43–57; Gumilev, *Drevnie Tjurki*, 71; Počekaev and Počekaeva, *Vlastitel'nicy Evrazii*; Levshin, *Opisanie kirgiz-kazač'ix*; Argynbaiev, *Qazaq halkyndagy semia men neke*; Stasevich, *Social'nyj status ženščiny u kazaxov*.

26 Vamberi, *Putešestvie po Srednej Azii*.

27 Stewart, *Thomas, Lucy and Alatau*.

28 Tišin and Seregin, "Položenie ženščiny," 109–127.

can be described with courage and wisdom: wise Qurtka possessed exceptional intuition; brave Qarlıǵa helped Qobılandı batır fight his enemies;²⁹ wife of Yer-Tostik batır had an exceptional gift of providence;³⁰ Gülbarşın outsmarted competitors, allowing Alpamıs batır to gain an advantage against fellow competitors and earning the grand prize – permission to marry her;³¹ willful Qız Jibek decided for herself on marriage.³² Finally, according to Irina Erofeeva, historian (1953–2020), “[With] an in-depth analysis of sources, study of historical materials, one can find many examples that the steppe policy was largely defined by the presence of female representatives.”³³ All of the above-mentioned examples in written and oral sources demonstrate that women had high social value within their families and sometimes beyond.³⁴ However, the discussions on the position of women in the Turkic world are not over yet. Another part of the academic research believes that the social status of a woman depended on the status of her spouse,³⁵ the presence of children,³⁶ in particular sons,³⁷ and her age.³⁸

4 Female Toponymy of Kazakhstan

The quantitative analysis of female toponyms resulting in this chapter was carried out based on administrative areas of Kazakhstan that include regions, cities, districts and settlements. The names of administrative areas used in the analysis were taken from a directory compiled by Telgoja Januzak, philologist, and published in 2009.³⁹

No traces of women or women’s history were found in the names of the regions. Kazakhstan is divided into fourteen regions and only one region, Jambıl, in Southern Kazakhstan, is an anthrotoponym, named after male Kazakh Jambıl Jabayev, famous dombıra player (1846–1945).

²⁹ See Kobılandı batır epos.

³⁰ Yer-Tostik epos.

³¹ Alpamıs batır epos.

³² Qız Jibek epos.

³³ Erofeeva, “Stepnye braki.”

³⁴ See Kodar and Kodar, “Gendernaja stratifikatsija,” 581–588.

³⁵ Joldasbekov and Sartkojauly, *Atlas Orxonskix pamjatnikov*, 117, 217, 279. The Turkic tradition of erection stone sculptures was almost the same for women in memorial complexes along with male statues (statues of Kutluk Kagan and his wife, Bilge Kagan and his wife, Kul Tegin and his wife, etc.), however, there are many not personified with female statues found in these complexes.

³⁶ Toleubajeva, “Položenie i mesto ženščiny,” 251.

³⁷ Kormušin, *Tjurkskie enisejskie epitafii*, 72, 81.

³⁸ So called “Aksakal [literally white beard, meaning old] institute” in accordance to the age without any gender was one of the main criteria of respect in the society.

³⁹ Januzak, *Jer-su atayların anyktamalığı*, published in 2009 and republished in 2017 under the same name and had minor updates. Since 2009, geographical names went through some changes, but they mostly concern cities streets and microdistricts.

There were no toponyms related to women's history in the cities with republican status: Astana, capital of Kazakhstan, located in Central Kazakhstan; Almaty, former capital of Kazakhstan, located in Southeast Kazakhstan.

Among the forty-two cities of regional status, there is only one female toponym: Aiagöz, in Eastern Kazakhstan, formed by the word “*ai*” (moon) and ancient Turkic word “*uguz*” (river).⁴⁰ However, it could be considered as a female anthropotoponym, as Aiagöz is a common female name in Kazakhstan.⁴¹ This is comparable to its counterpart male anthropotoponym, which also is reflected with one male anthropotoponym: Satpayev, in Central Kazakhstan, named after Kanış Satpayev (1899–1964), a scientist-geologist. In contrast to Satpayev, Aiagöz is considered an impersonalized anthropotoponym because it does not refer to any real person.

An analysis of the 161 districts of Kazakhstan reveals one female anthropotoponym, Aiagöz, also located in Eastern Kazakhstan, while there are twenty-nine male anthropotonyms: twenty-two anthropotonyms after Kazakh males and seven after Russian males.

Among the names of thirty-eight cities with district status, there are no cities with female toponyms, but two cities named after famous Kazakh males: Abai (1845–1904), poet and philosopher, and Kanış Satpayev, both located in Central Kazakhstan.

Of the 185 settlements of the country, only three are female impersonalized toponyms: two female anthropotonyms – Gülşat (flower ravine);⁴² and Dariya.⁴³ Both of them are in Central Kazakhstan, while there is one female toponym – *Qız yemşek* (girl's breast) – located in Southern Kazakhstan.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, there are seventeen male anthropotonyms: twelve named after well-known Kazakh men and five impersonalized ones. The results demonstrate a strong gender imbalance: the number of male anthropotonyms in the administrative areas is fifty and number of female ones is five.

Forty-five out of fifty of the male anthropotonyms honor historical figures like warriors-*baturs*, poets, writers, musicians etc., while four out of the five female anthropotonyms reflect generic female names, Aiagöz, Dariya, Gülşat (used twice), that do not carry any historical background, with one referring to a feminine gender image and female body part: *qız emşek*.⁴⁵ The prevailing number of male anthropotonyms

40 Pospelov, *Geografičeskie nazvanija mira*.

41 Ospan, *Esimder Saktardan Qazaqtarğa deiin*, 554.

42 Common female name in Kazakhstan. Ospan, 575.

43 Common female name in Kazakhstan. Ospan, 578. Also means “big river”. See Januzakov, *Ėtimologija drevnix toponimov Kazaxstana*, 43.

44 The word *emşek*, denoting female part of the body, breast, is often used in Kazakh female toponymy. It is used alone or in combination with the word *qız*. *Qız emşek* is one of the productive female toponyms for mountains and peaks across Kazakhstan. This toponym is widely used also for villages, fortress, wells and rivers across the country.

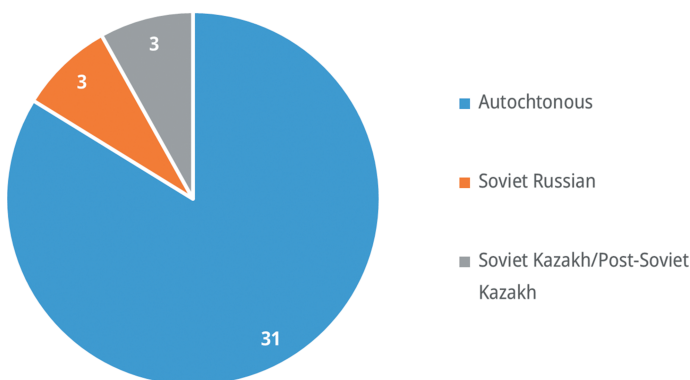
45 *Qız* (girl) is one of the gender images of feminine names, that also include *äiel* (woman) and *kempir* (elderly woman).

contributes to the tendency prevalent in many parts of the world with an exclusive dominance of masculine toponyms.⁴⁶

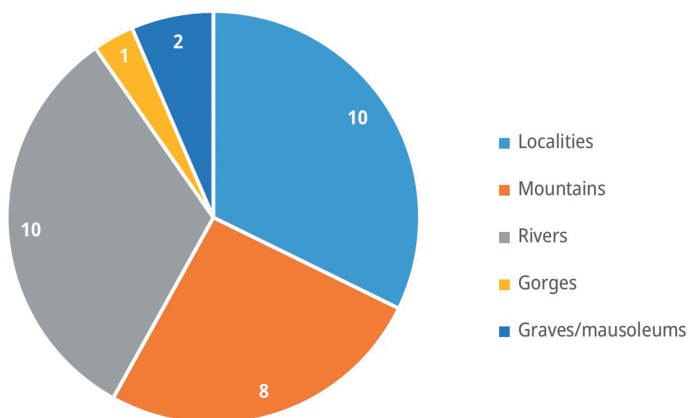
5 Female Toponymy of Three Regions of Kazakhstan

Three regions of Kazakhstan, Almaty (south-east), Akmola (north) and Turkestan (south, former Southern Kazakhstan region), widen the our scope of understanding of female toponyms. The analysis is based on the findings from a toponymy encyclopedic directory published in 2010.⁴⁷

Female toponyms of Almaty region



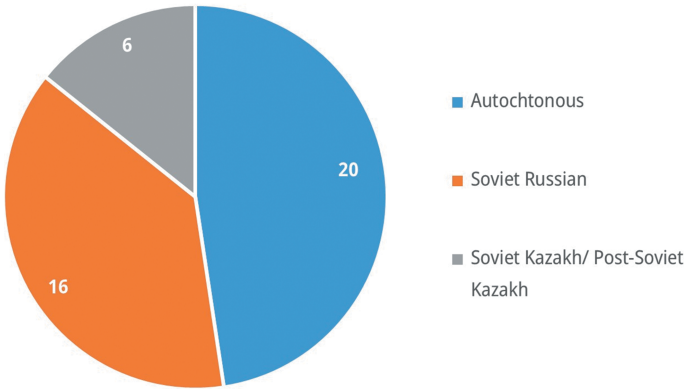
Autochthonous female toponyms of Almaty region



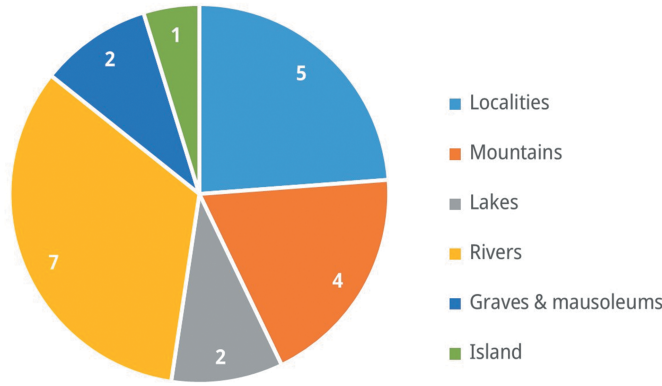
⁴⁶ See Gnatiuk and Glybovets, “‘Herstory’ in History,” 48–70; Puškareva and Židčenko, “Ženske imena,” 189–200.

⁴⁷ Baigabylova, *Jeruñiniñ aty—eliñiniñ haty*.

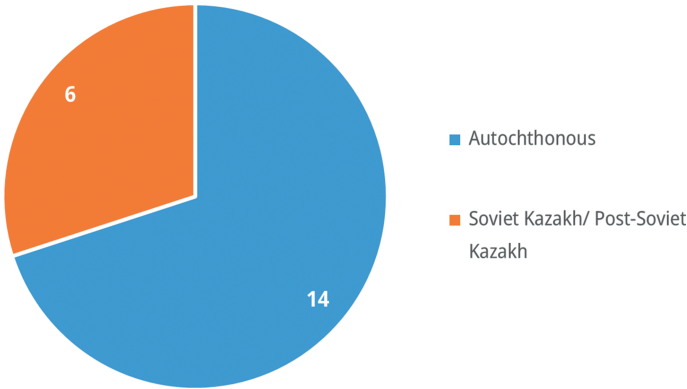
Female toponyms of Akmola region



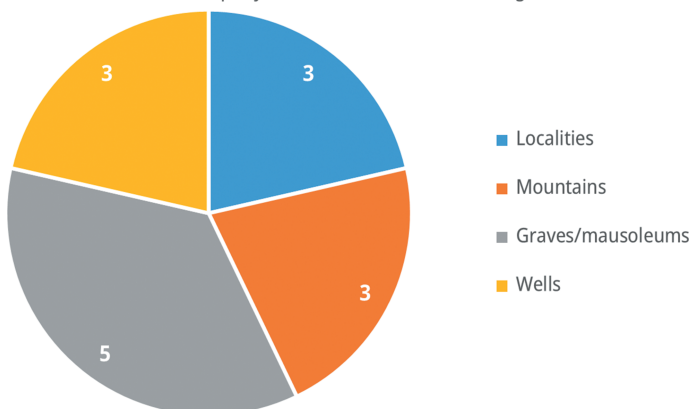
Autochthonous female toponyms of Akmola region



Female toponyms of Southern Kazakhstan region



Autochthonous female toponyms of Southern Kazakhstan region



The female toponyms in the regions are categorized into three groups: autochthonous, Soviet Russian and Soviet Kazakh/post-Soviet Kazakh.⁴⁸ The data of female toponyms from each of the three regions demonstrate many autochthonous toponyms. Female toponyms are present in all place names. Autochthonous toponyms that do not carry any layers of Russian colonial and postindependence past were identified in cases when they had many repeated names for different geographic objects like mountains, villages, graves, rivers and lakes.

For example, in Almaty region we find the following: an anthrotoponym *Aqqız* (white girl); a livestock camp and grave; *Börtegül* (lilac flower); a mountain and river; *Qaraköz* (black eye); a river village and mountain; and *Maqpal* (velvet); two rivers; and a livestock camp. This is more proof that the system of naming the geographical objects of the nomadic people was deliberately and thoroughly organized. Besides, naming was referred not just to the separate objects but to an entire network of objects that was of vital importance. In fact, “oronyms and gydronyms of the nomadic peoples of Crimea, Caucasus and Central Asia had secondary priority”, because their frequent migrations didn’t imply naming different objects separately.⁴⁹

Half of the total sixty-five female toponyms of the three regions of Kazakhstan are identified as impersonalized anthrotoponyms. These toponyms include feminine gender images like *äiel* (female, woman), *bike* (respected female), *bikeş* (young female), *qatın* (woman), *kelinşek* (newly married young woman), *kempir* (old woman) and *qız* (girl). Most toponyms, fifty-two out of sixty-five, are formed with the word *qız*. If we

⁴⁸ Autochthonous, original place names up to 1917 prerevolutionary period, Soviet Russian place names named after Russian personalities from 1919 to 1991, Soviet Kazakh/post-Soviet Kazakh place names named after Kazakh personalities from 1919 to 1991 and after Kazakhstan’s independence from 1991 to 2009.

⁴⁹ Superanskaja, *Čto takoe toponimika?* 87.

compare them with toponyms formed by *qatın*, their number is three times less – only eighteen.

Only two female genotoponyms formed from female genonyms were identified in the region of Almaty: Qaraköz and Sarıqız (yellow girl).⁵⁰ Female genonyms occur rather frequently in the Kazakh generic structure history: Datqızı, Qaraqız, Qaraqız, Qarakempir, Altın-Jappas, Aleyke, Qarqabat, Janat, Qızai etc. There is no doubt that more female genotoponyms will be discovered in further studies.

Apart from administrative areas and the three different regions of Kazakhstan where we identified impersonalized feminine image names, a general overview throughout all of Kazakhstan using a directory of the names of land and water was made.⁵¹ The most common toponyms denoting mountains, rivers and lakes contain words *qız* (girl) and *qatın* (woman), as well as other impersonalized feminine images.

6 Female Anthrotoponyms With an Impersonalized Feminine Image in Kazakhstan

	Number of female toponyms	Number of female impersonalized feminine images
Mountains	95	43
Rivers	90	30
Lakes	13	7

There are forty-three mountains named with impersonalized feminine images, for example Qızdın töbesi (girl's peak), Qız töbe (girl peak), Qız emşek (girl's breast), Qız yemşek Tau (girl's breast mountain), Qatın Qaşqan (girl that run away), Qatıntas (woman stone), Qızayız (mouth of a girl); thirty rivers, such as Qatınäşy (sour woman), Qızbastau (place where girl begins), Qız qarasu (black waters of a girl), Qızqorğan (girl's mound); Qıztausu (water of a girl's mountain), Qatınadyr (women's hill), Qatınsu (water of a woman); and seven lakes, Qatınköl (lake of a woman), Qatınas (woman, open or hungry woman?), Qızdın tomary (girl's hillock), Qızölgen (where girl died), Qızdyköl (girly lake), Birqız (one girl), Yegizqız (twin girls).

Despite the general toponymic marginalization of women on the landscapes of Kazakhstan that is evident from the study, many impersonalized female anthrotoponyms lead to the following conclusions. Kazakh tradition considers it taboo use the names of their only children, beloved ones, close relatives.⁵² In some traditional Kazakh

⁵⁰ Tribal subgenus groups reflect elements of the Kazakh generic structure.

⁵¹ By Telgoja Januzak *Jer-su atayların anyktamalıgı*, 2009.

⁵² Bralina and Devjanina, "Imja kak fenomen tradicionnoj kultury," 67.

families still today, a wife is not allowed to pronounce the name of her husband and his relatives, but instead she has to make them up as a sign of respect.⁵³ Toponymic female-gender images seem to be very much widespread in Kazakh toponymy, because female names were too sacred to be personalized. I interpret this kind of impersonalization process as a crucial part of protecting women's sacredness and an intention to silence them from public due to honor and respect. This leads to the finding that toponymic landscape of Kazakhstan carries an echo of matriarchy. According to Yuriy Zuev, Turkologist (1932–2006), Kazakh families for centuries still had “remnants of the maternal clan, one of the important attributes of which is the collective ownership of land and means of production, as well as matrilocality marriage”.⁵⁴

This might be the case for other Turkic speaking countries where some of the examples of impersonalized feminine images of the Turkic toponymy were discovered in this study.

7 *Qatın* and *Qız* in Turkic Toponymy

Female toponyms denoting woman/wife, *qatın*, also rendered as *qatyn*, *qatun*, *khatun* and *katun* in different sources of Turkic language speaking countries are also found in the Orkhon-Yenisei inscriptions, the oldest-extant Turkic writings, dating back to 732 CE–736 CE and found in Mongolia.⁵⁵ According to Aydin Erhan, a linguist, “The Old Turks treated rivers with respect, the name of the river Katun, one of the important rivers of the South Yenisei region, is mentioned in five different lines”, of the Orhon inscriptions.⁵⁶ Turkologist Lyazzat Nahanova's recent work also confirms that “*qatun* is mostly used for naming rivers and is closely connected to the ancient beliefs related to the cult of nature and demonstrates the respect and honor Turks showed for rivers, which were considered as female”.⁵⁷ Among the female antropotonyms mentioned earlier, there is a river called Qatinsu (woman water), sometimes called Qotansu (barn water) in Kazakhstan, one named Katun in the Altai Republic and a river called Katun in the Amur region of Russia.⁵⁸

Qatın is also found in the names of manmade places across Central Asia: a mountain of the Central Tian-Shan, Qatın-art; the fortress Takht-i Khatun (throne women), in the Afghani Turkistan;⁵⁹ a public square and caravan sarai, al-Khatun al-Malika (woman

53 Bralina and Devjanina, 68.

54 Zuev, *Rannie Turki*, 167.

55 Erhan, “Remarks on *Qatun*,” 251–256.

56 Erhan, 255.

57 Nahanova, “Istoriko-semantičeskaja interpretacija toponimov,” 134.

58 Kojčubaev, *Kratkij tolkovyj slovar'*, 150.

59 Kamoliddin, *Ancient Türkic Toponyms of the Middle Asia*, 39.

Malika-female name), in Samarkand.⁶⁰ Dmitriy Vasiliyev, Turkologist (1946–2021) says that the word *qatun* was widely used for settlements and cities, as demonstrated by the name Egük qatun (women river), as mentioned in the Yenisei inscriptions,⁶¹ Qatun sini (woman river), mentioned in the first comprehensive dictionary of Turkic languages, *Dīwān luYāt at-Turk*, compiled by Mahmud Kashgari between 1072 CE–1074 CE,⁶² as well as geographical objects *Khatunkath*, *Khudhainkath*, *Katun*, *Khatun-deh*, each found within the territory of Uzbekistan.⁶³

Many female toponyms can be found in Turkic-speaking areas containing the word denoting girl: *qız*, spelled also *qyz*, *gyz* in different Turkic sources. This group of toponyms are found in the mountain Qız-Tau (girl mountain) in Tatarstan, towers such as Qız qala (girl city) in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Crimea.⁶⁴ However, some scholars tend to think that the word *qız* goes back to the word *qöz* and stands for “watchtowers” due to their open spaced location.⁶⁵ Another evidence of the different meaning is the female toponym in Kazakhstan Aiqız (moon girl) for mountain and river. According to Kojčubaev, Aiqız (in Kazakh) is in fact Aygır (in Kazakh), in which the *z* evolved into an *r*, and where *gır* means a flat elevation, low mountain.⁶⁶ The same applies to the tract Ulı qız (big girl) that might go back to the Old Turkic *Ulı kır* (big ridge), where again the *z* eventually became *r*.⁶⁷ *Qız* can also be found in the ethnonym *Gırghız* (Kyrgyz, Khurghız), formed from the combination of *gır* (steppe) or *khır* (mountain), and *khıs* (*gız* means girl, woman), with the understanding of “people of steppe”, “man of steppe”.⁶⁸

This compilation of impersonalized toponyms containing feminine images from various areas of a common Turkic past demonstrates that the female toponymic landscape is rather similar. There is a need to further explore the topic of impersonalized feminine images and naming processes within linguistics and Turkology. This phenomenon on a Turkic heritage scale touches upon some individual cases in Kazakhstan.

8 Conclusion

Female toponyms serve as crucial instruments for identifying women’s visibility. But they have been largely neglected as in Kazakhstan. This chapter focuses on a relatively untreated topic of female toponymy of Kazakhstan and contributes to an improved

⁶⁰ Kamoliddin, 74.

⁶¹ Vasiliyev, *Korpus tjurkskix runičeskix pamjatnikov*, 3.

⁶² Mahpirov, *Drevnetjurskaja onomastika*.

⁶³ Kamoliddin, *Ancient Türkic Toponyms*, 39.

⁶⁴ Kzy Mehtiyeva, “Devič'i bašni,” 226–231.

⁶⁵ Superanskaja, *Čto takoe toponimika?* [What is toponymy?], 117.

⁶⁶ Kojčubaev, *Kratkij tolkovyj slovar'*, 18.

⁶⁷ Kojčubaev, 232.

⁶⁸ Melkheyev, *Geografičeskie nazvanija*, 32.

understanding of the study of history of the women of the country. Gendered historical lens of the toponymical investigation evaluates the problematic role of Kazakh women in the social life reflected in the toponymy.

The chapter also proves gender imbalance in the toponymy and scarcity of female anthropotoponyms in administrative areas with quantitative analysis. Analyses demonstrate the tendency of personalization in male anthropotoponymy and impersonalization in female toponymy. However, at the same time there are many impersonalized female anthropotoponyms identified in three nonadministrative areas of the country. Analyses reveal that most autochthonous female toponyms contain feminine gender images such as *qız*, *äiel*, *qatın* and *kempir*. Discovering the background of impersonalized toponyms is critical for understanding the history of nomination, as well as the revival of old and traditional cultural phenomenon, including legends, beliefs, rituals, etc. The discussion of toponyms concerning the two words *qız* and *qatın* reveal that they both denote localities, rivers, bridges and wells, and are present in various regions of Kazakhstan. They tend not to denote a certain type of object. Rather, they are often used in combination with words denoting different geographical objects. The origins of such female toponyms are diverse. A vivid example can be observed in the toponym Yerqatın (woman with masculine characteristics), which was given in memory of the women who prevented cattle stealing.⁶⁹

Oral history, literature, notes and research of travelers, as well as existing geographical maps are also of vital importance in investigating female toponymy.⁷⁰ For example, the toponym Aijanqasqan (Aijan, who runs away) takes root in tragedy, in which Aijan, a young lady, was forced to marry a widower much older than her and therefore had to run away from him.⁷¹

The revival of women's history from the toponymic perspective will undoubtedly open new horizons for research. To understand where Kazakh women stand now, we need to look more thoroughly at the historical roots from which she has grown, including any ancient and forgotten layers of female toponymy. "There cannot be economic and political decolonization without in the course of this process, there being a linguistic decolonization".⁷²

Identifying every female toponym within the 2.5 million Kazakh toponyms will be a remarkable step in the study of the history of women.⁷³ Incredible scenarios behind the ancient and forgotten layers of female toponymy serve as valuable resources for gaining more insight on the historic view of women of the past.

⁶⁹ Sultanyayev, "Principy nominacii," 69.

⁷⁰ According to Erofeeva the geographical maps almost weren't used in toponymic historical research. Her work "Geografičeskie karty XVIII veka," 330–358, provides the maps together with their interpretation.

⁷¹ Erofeeva, 352.

⁷² Calvet, *Linguistique et colonialisme*, 137.

⁷³ Januzakov, *Ètimologija drevnix toponimov kazaxstana*, 4.

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Alma B. Kunanbaeva

Genre Doubles As a Key to Interpreting Traditional Cultures: The Kazakh Case

All traditional cultures are familiar with the fear of twins: people fear literal mirror-like similarities.¹ At the same time, all traditional cultures are permeated with duplication and idiosyncratic types of multiplication: multiple repetition of one and the same thing in different forms and genres of art and life. So, for example, among the Kazakh people, there was the idea, from the moment of a baby's birth, of the duplication of the newborn by a puppy. To confuse an evil spirit (*qaraqus* – a black bird, *zhalmauyz kempir* – a witch, etc.), the adults would praise and adore the baby while calling him or her a puppy (*küshik*). The baby's first shirt, a short-sleeved undershirt that opens down the back, is called literally “dog shirt” (*it köilek*), and the baby's plate is called a “dog dish” (*it ayaq*). The living puppy is placed in the cradle before the baby, and the baby's shirt is stretched over the puppy before dressing the baby for the first time, thus “turning it into” a canine skin. A child's legs, which are initially bound, are released when he begins to walk for the first time, the binds are tied to the neck of a puppy along with candies, and older children who can already run chase the puppy.

In the image of the puppy, we seemingly glimpse the image of the wolf, behind which stands the image of the totem: the first ancestor. In these substitutions – baby, dog, wolf, totem – lie a certain simultaneity, the idea of coexistence inherent in traditional culture and the ancient worldview. It is significant that this simultaneity, even the very idea of simultaneity, a coexistence, permeates a person's existence literally from birth and accompanies him his entire life. Semantics and the shamanic roots of this entire ritual life activity is a special topic; here we are examining only the traditionally existing stable system of ritual and functional replacements and multiplications.

At the end of the 1970s, working on my doctoral dissertation on the Kazakh epos, I noticed the idiosyncratic manner of genre multiplication within the entire body of Kazakh folklore and oral forms of professional art, taken from the functional-semantic point of view. Here I recount my hypothesis.

I proceed from the obvious: one needs to consider the type of culture in one's analysis of the structure and genre system of folklore. If the discovery of a genre system in one tradition or another can serve as a key to understanding the specific character of the culture corresponding to it, then this genre system itself must be understood in the context of the professional artistic institutions arising and prevailing in this tradition.²

¹ In translation by Sara S. Moore from the original Russian.

² “Professional” here implies not only in terms of skill but also that the artist is traditionally taught in a systematic way and is paid (or expects to be paid). “Institutions” here alludes to a social-artistic phenomena, not necessarily formal organizations.

Genres are connected not only with the texts of a culture but also with its functions and, therefore, with the carriers of these functions, with its ethnophore. Consequently, notwithstanding one or another set of musical (or other) genres, we must proceed not only from the content of the oral text, but also from the entire sociocultural context of their existence.

I did such a contextual study with respect to Kazakh musical-poetic culture by comparing its three traditional subcategories of cultural expression: folk song (i.e., strictly folklore), *aqyn* culture (wherein the *aqyn*, poet-improviser, directs traditional ritual in the capacity of a professional artist) and epic (an unconditionally professional art form, executed by *jyrau*, the “singer of tales”).

Each event, each assertion, being located in the system of the genres of traditional oral culture, becomes comprehensible at three different but mutually inclusive levels: at the level of ordinary consciousness (in the ritual genres of folklore), at the level of the ritualized clan consciousness (in the *aqyn* tradition) and at the level of the aphoristic and descriptively revealed, its own kind of “scientific” consciousness (in the epic tradition).³ Overlaying all institutional differences are certain subject areas (briefly: “threading”,⁴ “reflection”, “edification”, and the like), principles and methods of textual embodiment, those which had to be duplicated, or more precisely, tripled at the levels of folkloric ritual, *aqyn* lyric poetry and the epic. Or, taking as a basis the final aim of each group of genres, the subject areas had to be tripled at the levels of individual person, clan and entire ethnos. And at the same time, everywhere in Kazakh traditional poetry, the moral-ethical starting point is key: it is precisely that starting point that gives rise to the unified current of culture, whose energy also ensures uniformity in the spiritual guideposts of the people, as they are personified in each of the genres.

Based on the proposed structuring of the traditional Kazakh repertoire of songs in connection with the artistic formal traditions historically prevailing in the culture, I introduce into the scholarship the concept of genre doubles, and in the working method, I propose the following composition of Kazakh folksong culture:

- I. Folksong tradition (*änshilik*)
 - 1. Ritual songs.
 - 2. Lyric songs.
 - 3. Epic songs.
- II. *Aqyn* tradition (*aqyndyq*)
 - 1. *Aqyn* doubles of ritual songs.
 - 2. Professional lyric poetry.

³ For more about the traditional institutions of the *aqyn* (poet-singer) and *jyrau* (epic storyteller), see: Tursunov, *Vozniknovenie baksy, akynov*; Kunanbaeva, “Zhanrovaia sistema Kazakhskogo muzykal'nogo eposa,” 82–112. In this article, I add a fourth level of awareness, a fourth traditional institution: the practice of competitions.

⁴ “Threading” refers to a type of poetry that is a string of aphorisms.

3. Songs by *aqyns* with epic plots.
 4. Genres of *aitys* (song-poetry disputes).
- III. Epic tradition (*jyraulyq*)
1. Epic doubles of ritual songs.
 2. The epic story, in its complete form (*jyr* – an epos, strictly speaking)
 3. *Tolghau* (“meditation”), *terme* (“didactic”), *ösiet* (“instruction”), *naqyl söz* (“edification”), *khat* (“letter”), *söz* (“speech”): what I call “orbital” genres around the epos *per se*.
 4. Epic lyric poetry.

This diagram shows not only the generic characteristics of each group but also the presence of the specific connections between them.

Moreover, if we take the diagram as a working model, then the very criteria by which classifications are determined for a particular work change: the criteria no longer appear as separate demarcating components of the whole (text, melody, the presence of instrumental accompaniment, and the like), but the entire totality of demarcations, necessarily also including the social-artistic position of a live performer in the culture and, just as pertinently, the factor of how the performer’s creativity is perceived in society.

In fact, for traditional societies concepts of epic tradition (*jyraulyq дәстүр*), the art of singing (*әншілік өнер*) and the art of the *aqyn* (*aqyndyq*) are not just theoretical ideas but wider complex of concrete phenomena and associations based on extensive cultural experience. Also, there is a class of audience members considered highly skilled “perceivers” of the art [so-to-speak epic performance connoisseurs and critics] who play the role of approving or disapproving a performance.⁵ Only by considering the reality of how the perception of art is valued in a traditional medium is it possible to approach the clarification of the terms themselves, and their actual fulfillment. In discussing genre doubles in the Kazakh song culture, I will describe three possible situations and their interpretations.

First: creative works, identical by their essential demarcations or identical from our point of view – while they occur in different genre groups in different regions. In the case of a mass confirmation of this differentiation, it is possible to speak about either the specific character of a region or about the imperfection of our concepts.

Secondly: a textual doubling of one and the same versions in all three traditions. In this case we can see their fundamental varied purposes and different places in the concrete artistic community. Just so, the didactic *terme* form turns out to belong to both the *aqyn* and the epic genre categories. The external similarity leaves the form’s differences, both musical and functional, untouched: in the contexts of differing perceptions and functions they can mean different things.

⁵ This professionalized epic critic in a traditional milieu is expected by the audience and epic singer alike to give supporting comments on the performance.

Thirdly: if the researcher accepts the theory of genre doubles, he or she can uncover not just the works but the carriers of different kinds of works from different social-artistic traditions that otherwise appear to be absolutely monolithic within each region, from the musical-stylistic point of view. Thus, a similar individualized approach will reveal the performers of all basic types (*baqsy*, *jyrau*, *jyrshi*, *änshi* and *aqyn*) within this medium, making it possible to compare representatives of the same type without making an unintentional error of substitution.

It seems to me that by using this paradigm one can reveal the real typology of culture which reflects essential cultural differences instead of forcing pseudo-universalities onto the genre.

Now, thirty years later, having encountered a wide variety of ethnic cultures, I begin to see this hypothesis as being of a more and more generalized – if not universal – nature. I find confirmation of my idea everywhere, and therefore, if I am not mistaken, it may be a real universality.

I have yet to begin the stage where I attempt to overturn my own conclusions. Today I present the argumentation of this hypothesis, first limiting myself to Kazakh examples, then continuing to show how this hypothesis can be seen as inherent in one form or another within a great many ethnic traditions. Moreover, I see the hypothesis reflected in a whole series of fundamental oppositions (more accurately, I should say, I think oppositions are often and quickly revealed to those modern scholars who tend to see oppositions in everything). For example, I see them in poetry and prose, ritual, narration and so forth. One art form appears as the “other-state” to another art form: one duplicates the other in the language of its own specific genre or genres.

Prose does not, for example, stand in opposition to poetry but is a parallel form of the existence of the exact same cognitive constants as poetry. I am impressed by the thinking of Alexander Lobok, for whom “poetry is made to be a mythological rite: it is the authentic center and essence of mythological rite”, whereas “the narrative genre appears, everything considered, as principally secondary with respect to myth, ritual, or rites. It appears as the secondary intellectual treatment of myth: as a method of using the word to redesign myth”.⁶ Similar, but less obvious, doubling takes place when one compares the ritual and narrative forms of myth: they are doubled, each in their own “genre”.

“Narrative mythology is the true “other state” of natural and ritual forms of myth.”⁷ But, indeed, the same can be said also in relation to such phenomena as the parallel realities of sleep and wakefulness: sleep is reality, just a different kind. Lobok mentions the known phenomenon from Australian Aboriginal mythology called “Dream Time”. This is a state that occurs, not as something that happened in the past, but rather as “a

⁶ Lobok, *Antropologiya mifa*, 487.

⁷ Ibid., 491.

certain parallel time and place, a certain special dreamlike modus of world existence".⁸ I permit myself to read this all in my own terms of worlds duplicating each other.

Moreover, I shall now permit myself to read the history of traditional culture in this way. I see a basis for this approach in the fact that practically the entire depth of oral culture, its entire volume, stretched seemingly horizontally, through space, across each ethnic territory, is interpenetrated with the same basic ideas, values and images. Such is our initial premise for the study of oral culture.

As Izaly Zemtsovsky showed,⁹ every genre presents a kind of special window through which people look on the whole world. As a result, we have a multiplicity of images of the same world. Each genre reflects not only one sector of reality that is dominant in the genre, but the entire wealth of the universe that enters the world view of the ethnos.

The method proposed by Zemtsovsky is important and extremely promising, as it is directed toward the exposure of each genre's concealed possibilities which are usually not noticed by analysts. However, for our purposes, this method is also insufficient, being limited only to the genre aspect of culture in its relation to reality; here we are interested in all aspects of culture without exception, including examples of doubling that fall outside of traditional genres. The examples presented here demonstrate the phenomenon of how doubling goes beyond the level of genre.

Our initial prerequisite is based on the acknowledgement of self-propagation as the bases of existence of any oral culture. (Self-propagation here indicates that, to researchers, it appears as if the propagation of oral culture goes on independent of human activity.) This acknowledgement helps one not only to understand and, I think, also to satisfactorily explain many obscure and even mysterious instances in traditional culture but also to recognize them as such. We know that new sight produces new knowledge.

But one may ask how does one interpret these new facts standing before us in their new constellation? How does one explain this starry sky of culture opening suddenly before us in all its many colors?

For an answer to this complex question, one must approach from a distance.

First, for expedience, it seems one must define an initially productive period of folklore, saturated by a plurality of events including events of an *ethnogenetic* nature, relating to the origin and history of a given ethnic group and including migratory processes of varied natures and causes, the development of society's class infrastructure and all that one could conditionally call the horizontal [spacial, geographic] development of an ethnos and its oral culture. Since the beginning of active ethnic self-awareness and, most importantly, with an increase in external interest in folklore "from the sidelines" and, so to speak, from above, i.e., in more modern language, with the appearance of *folklorism*, a secondary form of existence of folklore, one must assume that a folklore's

⁸ Ibid., 576–77.

⁹ For more information, see two articles: Zemtsovsky, "The Reconstruction of the Concept of Integrity in the Phenomenon of the Folkloric Genre," 16–24; Zemtsovsky, "Predstavlenie o tselostnosti fol'klornogo zhanra kak ob'ekt rekonstruktsii i kak Metod," 205–12.

productive period ends as it is replaced by the productive period of folklorism, i.e., the development of the entire network of vertical relationships in a culture.

During the study of a productive period of folklore and its genre systems, it is advisable not to remain limited to the traditional genre approach and to subdivide the kinds of activity that are broader and more precise than “genres”, and that encompass the full entirety of a culture. Every subdivision of this nature is demarcated with its own relationship to the same reality. But this is not enough. One and the same subdivision is embodied by a different genre: in the different local traditions and in the artistic repertoire of the different social, gender and age groups of an ethnos. The generally immutable law of oral tradition is such that it preserves itself from oblivion and destruction: it attaches itself in eternity, so it, being dispersed, is not scattered, but seemingly being multiplied, it concentrates its essence in a culture’s tradition.

We propose to call “genre doubles” just those manifestations by different genres of the same kind of artistic syncretic activity within a given ethnic tradition’s productive period.

Genre doubles indicate precisely original plurality, not evolutionary development of the same thing, or transformation of one thing into another. It is important to realize that this plurality is not by chance and is not arbitrary but is always dependent on real historic context. The plurality is dependent on (1) function and genre, (2) social structure, (3) region, as well as (4) the perspective of gender and age.

The law of the living is such that culture duplicates itself at all levels by its self-fulfillment (regionally, functionally, socially, in terms of gender and age), by the very same means makes its core values unshakable.

The acknowledgment of genre doubles as a general law of oral culture’s existence opens new research perspectives for the fields of folkloristics, ethnomusicology, cultural anthropology, and ethnography. Genre doubles allow the explanation of why we are justified in reconstructing a whole mythology or ritual system from one or another ancient ethnos based only on fragments of its traditional culture. (Naturally, for these purposes, the parallel development of Zemtsovsky’s hypotheses, explaining the possibility of reconstructing the integrity of each genre, is appropriate.)

The aforementioned also concerns the epos, with the study of which this article began. Moreover, this idea works most clearly on the material of the epos.

In fact, although the epos is one way or another genetically connected with archaic mythology, cosmogony, ritual and shamanism, it cannot, strictly speaking, be considered proper folklore, since it is the art of the professional epic “singers-of-tales,” rhapsodes. Nevertheless, it can have – and, as I try to show, has – its genre doubles in folklore. Analytically, I am limited to Kazakh material, as it is the most familiar to me, and the most studied, not only in its literature but also because of my own long-standing field work in different regions of traditional and relatively new Kazakh settlements. Nevertheless, I am justified in noting that my hypothesis, procedure and conclusions relate not only to the Kazakh epos but to the productive period of the oral culture of every ethnos, basically without exception. In any case, Zemtsovsky, familiar with my hypothesis in

its initial short version,¹⁰ shows its applicability to Russian folklore.¹¹ Here are a few examples examined in detail in his new manuscript.

Genre doubles, according to this study, are obvious in poetics: it suffices to compare the formulae of praise songs at the end of the Russian epic folk tales (*bylina*), fairy tales, wedding praise songs, carols and other seasonal ritual, as well as round-dance (*khoro-ovod*) praise songs with one another, showing the unique genre parallels of exactly the same idea of praising (laudation and gratitude, etc.). At one time they seemed to be a magic formula, i.e., there was one additional genre hypostasis consisting of the same ritual-poetic idea.

Thanks to this approach, the notorious problem of “authorship” of Russian epos becomes also solvable on some level. Meanwhile, according to Zemtsovsky, the genre-stylistic versions of an epos could have originally existed in different layers of old Russian society: it was as if each social stratum “wrote” its own version of native history. Motives and plots could sometimes intercept each other, especially with the influence of the social-artistic institutions of itinerant singers, pilgrims, traveling blind bards (*kaliki perekhozhie*) and wandering minstrel-clowns (*skomorokh*).

The situation also becomes clear with the epic poetry (*bylina*) motives in caroling songs of the Russian north (though not exclusively in the north) and in the wedding songs of the south, among the Don Cossacks. From here comes the tendency of musical ballad plots to exist in songs of different genres, such as epic, lyric, wedding, dance and lullaby songs. In the 1980s, Zemtsovsky wrote that round dances required (sic!) the ballad as the means by which to reflect and encompass the entire world, with one dance not embraced.¹²

In short, everything in the oral tradition – formulas, musical motives, plots, poetics, the genres themselves, etc. – each without exception has its “doubles” along the vertical (social) and horizontal (local dialects). Zemtsovsky thinks it is possible to find idiosyncratic doubles even in tonal modes, scales and rhythms.

Thus, it is already possible to see that genre doubles appear as their own kind of universal concept in the world of separate ethnic oral traditions, i.e., predominantly along the horizontal stratum of one culture. But it is appropriate to ask whether the concept of genre doubles could also be effective in the field of historical poetics, i.e., predominantly along the historical vertical of many cultures?

¹⁰ See Kunanbaeva, “Zhanrovaia sistema kazakhskogo eposa,” 82–112.

¹¹ I have had the lucky opportunity to familiarize myself with the work he is preparing for an as-yet unpublished book about Russian folk music, consolidating his many years of research, and received the kind permission of the author to briefly summarize some of his theses. See also Zemtsovsky, “Genre-Performance ‘Doubles’ in Russian Epic Tradition,” 276–86.

¹² See Zemtsovsky, “The Reconstruction of the Concept of Integrity in the Phenomenon of the Folkloric Genre,” 16–24. There he also wrote about the universality of humorous folk ditties: “a quick and brief epos” of the modern day.

Perhaps no one has specifically asked that question. Yet, it is by no means an idle question.

Let us recall one of many (analogous and now already classic) statements by Aleksandr N. Veselovsky: "Myth is transmitted through avatars of fairy tale, short stories, and touching tales, so that we can meet it anew in the paperback bindings of a library of novels."¹³

Andrei Toporkov, recently citing this phrase, explained *avatar* as meaning "metamorphoses".¹⁴ This explanation is completely possible according to the overall meaning of phrase; however, there remains the slippery question of why Veselovsky precisely preferred this rare word. Meanwhile, the term *avatar* means literally and primarily an incarnation of an ancient Indian deity (i.e., Vishnu). In philosophy this word became a term for the designation of a phenomenon of embodiment or personification of a concept (or even an entire philosophy) in the individual personality. Indeed, maybe all similar, countless, examples turned out to be – for the brilliant mind of Veselovsky – examples of the existence of one plot, image and so on, in the appearance of works in various genres? Maybe Veselovsky had in mind those examples precisely and foremost as examples of multiple-genre incarnation and reincarnation, or as examples of the genre being considered as the embodiment-personification of a certain travelling idea, plot, motive, image, and the like?

Seemingly, it makes sense to think about this especially, to analyze the appropriate examples and, most importantly, place them in the framework of the overall picture of oral tradition and attempt to give to them new interpretation in the spirit of the concept of genre doubles.

It is possible that such reinterpretation would also require from us a certain renewal of the comparative-typological methodology, which, as we know, arises from the international unity of folklore culture. "The field of historical typological analogies . . . covers all sides of ideology, imagery, genre composition and artistic style of the works of literature and folklore."¹⁵ The laws of typology, as shown by Boris Putilov, are typological sequence and typological succession.¹⁶

Let us recall that typological similarity is never literal. Therefore, the typologist pays attention not to the direct but to the "shifted" correspondences. All typological laws are not simply given to science but are seemingly objectively assigned.

Maybe we must attempt to also answer the question of how the relationships according to the type of genre double enter this system of typological relations? Are genre doubles a phenomenon from the field of typology, or principally do they relate to some other field, which requires additional explanation and determination? Or is it more expedient to forget about omnipresent typology and to examine the genre doubles

13 Veselovskii, "Neizdannaiia glava iz 'Istoricheskoi poetiki,'" 118–19.

14 Toporkov, *Teoriia mifa v russkoi filologicheskoi*, 376.

15 Zhirmunskii, *Narodnyi geroicheskii epos*, 9.

16 Putilov, *Metodologiia sravnitel'no-istoricheskogo izucheniia fol'klora*.

within the framework of other entirely different culturological categories? Then the question arises, which kind?

It is necessary to understand that the universalism of typology in no way denies and nor does it diminish other approaches but calls for an understanding of the inevitability of cooperation with the typological method.

Gathering many separate facts (and factors) one way or another into uniform (uniordinal) groups, typology transforms the chaos of facts into a cosmos of culture [i.e., into accessible data in cultural space]. Of course, this is a culture that we built. Therefore, it is expedient to differentiate between the *typology of ethnophores*, which are concerned exclusively with their own tradition, and the *typology of ethnographers*, constructed based on many world traditions. The question is in how to combine our typological pictures with the data of the ethnophore typology, always defined locally and working based on clearly specialized models. The answer to this question may turn out to be the key.

Let me conclude with this guess: could a system of genre doubles turn out to be exactly the typology of ethnophores we were searching for?

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Gulnara Jamasheva

Language Policy in the Kyrgyz Republic: Gains and Losses

1 Introduction

The article analyzes the linguistic processes in the Kyrgyz Republic that took place in the Soviet and the post-Soviet periods up to the present day.¹ It presents a chronological description of the main events, processes, government directives and activities of the periods that influenced the development of the Kyrgyz language. When writing this article, the author relied mainly on available works of Soviet and Kyrgyz scholars. Undoubtedly, global scholarship has accumulated a rich experience in the study of the social nature of languages, their histories and, social functions, as well as issues of their preservation and development. This holds true for Central Asian languages too. A vivid example of a devotion to this science in the United States is both the professional path and life of the late Professor Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, a well-known Turkologist, who researched the languages, histories and folklore of the Turkic peoples. She headed the Center for Central Asian Studies at the University of Washington for many years. This article, as well as the entire collection in this volume, is dedicated to her luminous memory.

Many scientific institutions of the West have opened up to new perspectives on the histories, cultures, languages and arts of Central Asia, adding on to the scholarly knowledge accumulated during the Soviet period, thus allowing for new insights. However, the inertia of the long-term isolation of the countries of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) from the West is still present, even though there has been significant growth in international relations between these countries, and unprecedented academic development in former USSR countries. Thus, the achievements of Western academicians are still inaccessible to the vast majority of academics in the CIS countries: there is neither an established system of information exchange between countries nor are there translation services for academic literature from Western languages into the local languages of the CIS countries, and vice versa. This also applies to the sociolinguistic sub-field in the general field of linguistic scholarship. Due to such circumstances, the article limits itself mainly to available Soviet and post-Soviet publications.

The quantitative data on demography, ethnic composition and other indicators of the population of the Kyrgyz Republic are taken from studies of Soviet sociolinguists, with appropriate references. Another source of data is the “Population and housing censuses of the Kyrgyz Republic” for 1989, 1999 and 2009. According to the legislation

¹ Dedicated to the loving memory of my favorite teacher and devoted friend of the Kyrgyz people, Professor Ilse Laude-Cirtautas.

of the former USSR, as well as the existing legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic, the population and housing census is conducted every ten years in time for the next round of world population censuses and includes questions that allow for statistical information on sets of social, demographic and economic characteristics of the population. The population census is conducted by bypassing the residential premises where the population lives and the filling out of census documentation based on surveys by authorized persons (census takers, enumerators). The documentation includes oral or written answers to relevant questions of the census received from each person. In the last population and housing census of the Kyrgyz Republic, conducted in 2009, in section three, "Population by nationality and language", questions relevant to the language situation in the country were included, and relevant data are listed under "distribution of the population of different nationalities by native language" and "distribution of the population of different nationalities by second language proficiency".

The section on the discussion of the distribution of the population of different nationalities by native language" comprises six columns:

1. The number of representatives of different nationalities throughout the Kyrgyz Republic, separated by seven regions and the two largest cities of the Kyrgyz Republic;
2. The number of residents who indicated the language of their ethnicity as their native language.
3. The number of residents who indicated Kyrgyz as their native language.
4. The number of residents who indicated Russian as their native language.
5. The number of residents who indicated Uzbek as their native language.
6. The number of residents who have indicated other languages as their native language.

The paragraph section focusing on the distribution of the population of certain nationalities by proficiency in a second language comprises nine columns:

1. The number of representatives of different nationalities in the Kyrgyz Republic, in seven regions and the two largest cities;
2. Persons who speak a second language.
3. The number of people who speak Kyrgyz as a second language.
4. The number of people who speak Russian as a second language.
5. The number of people who speak Uzbek as a second language.
6. The number of people who speak English as a second language.
7. The number of people who speak Turkish as a second language.
8. The number of people who speak German as a second language.

Some data on native language proficiency in other languages given in the article were taken or derived from these indicators.

Based on the available data, a modest attempt has been made to deduce a picture of the uneasy path of development of the native language in Kyrgyzstan during the

past hundred years of its recent history—a time of cardinal political and social shifts. For the development of Kyrgyz language, this period was an experience directed by the state: from 1920 to 1990—by the Soviet regime, and since 1990, after the collapse of the USSR—by the independent Kyrgyz Republic. Accordingly, the language policies of these two periods contain different ideologies, goals, content and form. A watershed between the two periods of development of the Kyrgyz language was the adoption of the Law on the State Language of the Kyrgyz Republic in September 23, 1989, two years before the collapse of the USSR. This occurred under pressure from citizens dissatisfied with the Soviet language policy and the deplorable state of the mother tongue given pervasive Russification. From the very establishment of the USSR, language reforms were fundamental in achieving the goal of unifying a multinational state and establishing a single state language for all 150 nationalities in the Soviet state. If the effective development of the Soviet economy during the seventy years of its existence had grown “from the plow to the atomic bomb”,² then the linguistic reforms had grown from mere alphabets to national encyclopedias for hitherto nonwritten languages.

On the other hand, the objective of developing a unified Soviet nation, which essentially meant complete Russification, led to significant restrictions on the development of the native languages of the USSR. The Russian language was the conductor of all socialist reforms as the language of the dominant nation. This resulted in a rapidly spreading Russian language among other nationalities and formed different kinds of national-Russian bilingualism. Many autochthonous languages of the USSR, including Kyrgyz, were left behind, as their speakers were unable to fully participate in these quick and active social processes because of just how quickly central government of the Soviet Union intervened. Over time, this led to the stagnation and underdevelopment

2 The full phrase is: “He (I. Stalin) accepted Russia with a plow, and left it equipped with atomic weapons”, and is found in some publications. See Andreyeva, *Ne mogu postupat'sya printsipam; Chuyev, Sto sorok besed s Molotovym*. According to Kurtukov, the author of the quote is the British politician Isaac Deutscher, who wrote an article in “Manchester Guardian”, 6 March 1953, on the death of J. Stalin: “The core of Stalin’s historic achievements consists in this, that he had found Russia working with wooden ploughs and is leaving her equipped with atomic piles. He has raised Russia to the level of the second industrial Power of the world. This was not a matter of mere material progress and organization. No such achievement would have been possible without a vast cultural revolution, in the course of which a whole nation was sent to school to undergo a most intensive education”.

Later, in 1956, the same words appeared in the British Encyclopedia in the article entitled “Stalin” (volume 21, 303): The year 1945 was the climax in Stalin’s crowded and checkered career. As generalissimo and uncontested leader, he was surrounded by an adulation and a cult which assumed its most grotesque forms toward the end of his life. Soviet scientists, writers, musicians, linguists, philosophers, and others were made to accept his judgments as final. Underlying his bizarre cult were his indisputable achievements. He was the originator of planned economy; he found Russia working with wooden plows and left it equipped with atomic piles; and he was “father of victory”. But his achievement was marred by the despotism and cruelty of his dictatorship; and the patriarchal character of his rule, suited perhaps to the mentality of illiterate and backward people, became an anachronism in the industrialized and modernized Russia of his own making”. See Kurtukov, “Prinyal s sokhoy”.

of these languages in many important areas, like public administration, higher education, science, etc. In the 1980–'90s, these prohibitions against the use of their native languages fully for decades brought people in national republics, including the Kyrgyz Republic, to street rallies in defense of their languages. Between 1988 and 1999, the events culminated in a “parade of laws on state languages” adopted one after another in all national republics.

It was assumed that the adoption of laws on the Kyrgyz state language would enable the government to guide and regulate the linguistic process and, most importantly, would give impetus to the broad development of the functions of the Kyrgyz language. In the thirty years since that date, significant changes have occurred in the development of the native language in the country. However, these changes were not due to numerous governmental programs but to spontaneous language processes under different social, political and economic conditions. This article examines positive and negative impacts of different factors influencing the development of the native language in Kyrgyzstan.

2 Back to the Issue of History

The Kyrgyz language is one of the most-ancient languages of Central Asia. The ethnonym “Kyrgyz” is first encountered in the Chinese chronicles dating back to the first century BCE (145 BCE–86 BCE). The language of the Orkhon-Yenisei Turkic runic scripts and the modern Kyrgyz language have 65.5 percent similarity in vocabulary.³ That indicates that, up to our time, the Kyrgyz language has retained its main features and lexical corpus. As it is known, this script arose at the beginning of the eighth century CE, but how long it was used is unknown. In the eighth century CE, the Turkic peoples of Central Asia adopted Islam and the Arabic script with it. But in pre-Soviet times, the Kyrgyz did not have a widely used writing system. Only a very small part of the population, 3.1 percent, knew the Arabic script.⁴ Since the mid-nineteenth century, after joining the Russian Empire, under the influence of external factors, the Kyrgyz language began to undergo profound changes both in its system and functions.

Officially the land of Kyrgyzstan was annexed by Russia in 1855. By this time, the Kyrgyz population accounted for a population of 828,300.⁵ For the underpopulated Kyrgyz people, who used to live in yurts roaming from place to place across mountains and leading traditional nomadism, this event marked the introduction of European civilization into the patriarchal lifestyle and changed the world views of the people. From that time on, the Kyrgyz language began to incorporate Russian loan words, which

3 Diykanov, *Kyrgyz tilim*, 198.

4 Desheriev, *Zakonornosti razvitiya literaturnykh yazykov narodov SSSR*, 279.

5 Asankanov, “Stanovlenie kyrgyzskoi natsii,” 478–491; 480.

reflected the changing reality, new elements of everyday life and work, and terminology of new administration, e.g., *bölkö* < rus. *bulka* (bun), *münöt* < rus. *minuta* (minute), *beçem* < rus. *pechat'* (seal), *çiştay* < rus. *chistogan* (cash), *çaynek* < rus. *chajnik* (teapot), *nomur* < rus. *nomer* (number), *oblus* < rus. *oblast'* (region), *sot* < rus. *sud* (court), etc.

Russian loanwords underwent a natural process of assimilating to the system of the Kyrgyz language and were easily accepted by the Kyrgyz-speaking population. The tsarist policy was not strictly Russifying: the people were not forced to speak Russian; the new authorities communicated with the local population mainly through translators, who were mostly Tatars who understood the Kyrgyz language well. Also, there were no events to promote Christianity and religious conversion among the Kyrgyz who professed Islam. The main duty of the population was to pay taxes. Deep political and social reforms took place later with the advent of Soviet power and affected language too.

3 Language Planning in Kyrgyzstan During the Soviet Period

In 1917 the Great Socialist Revolution took place in Russia, with the purpose of transforming the economy from a capitalist to a socialist system. All the enslaved outskirts of the Russian Empire, including Kyrgyzstan, became parts of the new Soviet country on the basis of the rights of equal subjects. The formation of socialist statehood in Kyrgyzstan progressed through the following stages: “In 1918 the peoples of Central Asia united in the Turkestan Soviet Socialist Republic within the Russian Federation. In 1924 after the national-territorial division of the peoples of the Turkestan Republic, the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region became a part of the Russian Federation. In 1926 it was transformed into the Kyrgyz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the Russian Federation”.⁶ As Dr. Asankanov writes:

At the First Congress of the Soviets of the Republic, a decision was made on universal compulsory education and the transition from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin script. . . . At the Second Congress of the Soviets in 1929, the Constitution of the Kyrgyz ASSR was adopted, in which the Kyrgyz and Russian were declared the state languages. Civil servants were required to speak both languages. At the extraordinary Eighth Congress of the Soviets of the USSR on December 5, 1936, the second Constitution of the USSR was adopted. From that day on, Kyrgyzstan transformed into a union republic and became an equal member of the USSR. In the process of the formation of the Kyrgyz nation, this event was of pivotal importance.⁷

⁶ Ibid., 481.

⁷ Ibid., 481.

With the establishment of Soviet power and the building of socialism in the region, cardinal and large-scale changes began in the life of the nation. The development of Kyrgyzstan within the USSR determined the final transition of the Kyrgyz people to the path of “modern civilization” and led to the formation of a secular agrarian-industrial state in a historically short period of time. The new government was actively implementing several mega programs at once: the sedentarization of the nomadic people; and the laying of the foundations of industry and the cultural revolution, which primarily meant elimination of illiteracy. After the adoption of the decree of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Russian Federation, “On the elimination of illiteracy among the population of the RSFSR” in 1920,⁸ a targeted campaign began to continuously teach the population to read and write. Emergency commissions for the elimination of illiteracy and political education departments were formed under the national departments of public education. In Kyrgyzstan, a system of field courses became widely spread, where volunteers went to pastures to teach herders to read and write. For the first time, the Arabic script, which was sporadically used among the Kyrgyz, was adapted to the Kyrgyz writing. This script was used until 1926. During the first All-Union Congress of Turkologists, it was decided to develop new scripts for nonwritten languages in the Latin script.⁹

The Soviet government was intensively working on the principles and ways of developing systems of culture and education for the entire Soviet country. In the field of linguistic development, one of the main decisions centered on the creation of alphabets based on the Latin script for the nonwritten languages of the USSR. The Russian alphabet was rejected because it was associated with the tsarist regime of oppression of other ethnicities, and the communists did not want to impose it on the Soviet nations.¹⁰ At the same time, the Latin alphabet was considered to correspond to the ideology of internationalism and was associated with the new culture. Therefore, the campaign of eradication of illiteracy, which lasted until the early 1930s, taught writing based on the Latin alphabet. This event produced unprecedented results. In 1926 the share of literate people increased from 3.1 percent to 16.5 percent, and up to 79.8 percent in 1939.¹¹ At the same time, work on creating the didactic foundations of the Kyrgyz language was underway. In the first decades of Soviet power under the atmosphere of revolutionary romanticism, the task was to ensure equal development for all languages of the Soviet Union. However, the implementation of such a task ran into formidable

8 *Dekret SNK o likvidatsii bezgramotnosti sredi naseleniya RSFSR. 26 dekabrya 1919.*

9 Verbatim report of the first All-Union Turkological congress.

10 *CPSS v resolyutayax* [CPSU in resolutions.] (Moscow, 1970.V.2), 366. Since the proletarian revolution was directed primarily against the tsarist regime, which had turned Russia into a “prison of peoples”, the ideologues of the revolution denied everything connected to the past. The leader of the revolution and the main ideologist of the country, V. I. Lenin, was the first to oppose the imposition of the Russian language on foreign-speaking peoples and noted that the revolution “forever put an end to the policy aimed at killing the rudiments of all statehood among the peoples of Russia, crippling their culture, to constrain the language, to keep them in ignorance”.

11 Desheriev, *Zakonomernosti razvitiya literaturnykh yazykov narodov SSSR*, 279

obstacles. The unevenness of the structural development of languages (different states of development for each language), the existence of written traditions and developed linguistic infrastructures in some peoples, and their absence in others—complicated its implementation.

As for the Kyrgyz language of that time, many stylistic forms expressing scientific, journalistic, official and artistic norms were not developed due to the lack of these exact fields of activity, though literature had existed in the form of oral art. With the changes of historical conditions and the emergence of new activities, the Kyrgyz language that exists today began to take shape. The first newspaper in the Kyrgyz language “Erkin-Too” was published in 1924. In 1925, in Kyrgyzstan, the first issue of the newspaper in Russian language *Batratskaya pravda* (The farmhand truth) was published; 1926 saw the appearance of the first periodicals, like the youth newspaper *Leninçil jaş* (Leninist youth), the monthly political-educational, economic and literary magazine *Kommunist*, the scientific-pedagogical and literary monthly *Janı madaniyat jolunda* [On the path of a new culture] and the special newspaper for literacy learners, *Sabatuu bal* [Be literate], etc. In the same period, the rudiments of professional literature and national science appeared, and the first books and textbooks on different areas of knowledge began to be published.¹² The lexical corpus continued to develop rapidly due to borrowings from the Russian language. According to researchers, in the *Kyrgyz-Russian Dictionary* (1945) by K. Yudakhin, the number of Russian borrowings was 10.5 percent, the original Kyrgyz words comprised 78.2 percent.¹³ As for the newly formed terminological fund, i.e., corpus of the Kyrgyz language, the share of Russian-language borrowings, including international terms through the Russian language, amounted to more than eighty percent.¹⁴ At this period the principle of phonetization according to the Kyrgyz pronunciation was so far observed in the borrowings, e.g., *apsalut* < *absolyut* (rus. absolute), *badiret* < *podryad* (rus. row), *malikul* < *molekula* (rus. molecule), *boporos* < *papirosa* (rus. cigarette), *porum* < *forum* (rus. forum), *ispirit* < *spirit* (rus. alcohol), *isten* < *stena* (rus. change, duty).

The following years saw a further increase in literacy, and in the development of education and science. By 1959, Kyrgyzstan male literacy was at ninety-nine percent, and ninety-seven among women.¹⁵ In 1976 the first Kyrgyz Soviet encyclopedia in six

¹² Arabaev created the first Kyrgyz primer, *Alippe*, wrote a textbook on the Kyrgyz language for elementary schools; K. Tynystanov wrote *A Reader* for first grade schools. These were the first textbooks in the Kyrgyz language, published in order to eliminate the illiteracy of the people. The first books published in 1925 in Moscow were *Nasyat*, by Togolok Moldo; “Collection of songs of Kasym” by Tynystanov; “Buudayık” by Kylych; “Seketbai”, by Boogachy; and other works. The first examples of professional fiction appeared: Karachev, “Erksiz kündördö” [Days of adversity] (1928), “Tendik jolunda” [On the road of freedom] (1928); Bayalinov “Azhar” (1928), “Murat” (1929), etc. The foundations of translation activity were laid with translations of Russian literature and works of V. I. Lenin into the Kyrgyz language.

¹³ Dıykanov, *Ene til ekologiyası*.

¹⁴ Dıykanov, *Kırgız tilim*, 30.

¹⁵ Desheriev, *Zakonomernosti razvitiya literaturnyh yazykov narodov SSSR*, 279

volumes was published,¹⁶ which became a symbol of historical achievement in the spiritual development of the nation. The rapid socioeconomic development of the republic, and changes in the life of the Kyrgyz people stimulated development of the Kyrgyz language. At the same time, there was a rapid development of Kyrgyz-Russian bilingualism. The state language policy set the task of mastering the Russian language as a “second native language . . . flourishing and [fostering a] rapprochement of the socialistic nations”,¹⁷ and the creation of cultures “national in form and socialist in content”.¹⁸ These slogans became the red line of the cultural development for all nations of the Soviet Union. One of many measures in this direction was the replacement of the Latin script with the Cyrillic script in 1940.

For all the different nationalities of USSR, including the Kyrgyz people, the first vital need was to master the language of communication, the Russian language, and to develop native language-Russian bilingualism. The ability to speak and write correctly in Russian began to be considered when entering a university or being appointed to a managerial position. The advantages of knowing the Russian language, and hence receiving a Russian-language education, became more and more obvious. Accordingly, the share of bilinguals in the USSR grew every year. The main type of Soviet bilingualism was native language-Russian bilingualism. If there were 150 nations in the country, it means that 150 types of native language-Russian bilingualism developed. However, reverse Russian-native language bilingualism was much less developed.

Unfortunately, we could not find data on quantitative indicators of the growth of bilingualism in Kyrgyzstan during the early periods of the Soviet era. But the percentage of Kyrgyz who changed their native language to Russian and other languages is an indication. In 1926, 661,171 Kyrgyz lived in cities, of which only ten people (0.01 percent) recognized Russian as their native language, and seventeen (0.02 percent) one of the other languages. Let us compare: in 1959, out of a total number of 968,659 Kyrgyz people, 2,850 people (0.29 percent) recognized Russian as their native language, and 9,719 Kyrgyz (one percent) other languages.¹⁹ It turns out that in thirty-three years the number of Kyrgyz who changed their native language to Russian increased twenty-nine fold, and for other languages fifty fold. These are, of course, insignificant indicators, but nevertheless they characterize the general picture of the development of bilingualism in Kyrgyzstan for the period 1926–1959.

Gradually, the further strengthening of Soviet internationalism went beyond its limits, turning into a qualitatively different phenomenon—Russification. The crudest example of such an exaggeration was the 1953 law “On spelling of Russian and foreign words borrowed through Russian into the Kyrgyz language according to Russian spelling rules”. Party leaders who were far from academic knowledge, perceived the changes in

¹⁶ *Kyrgyz Sovet ensiklopediyasy*.

¹⁷ Kulichenko, *Rastsvet i sbliizheniye natsiy v SSSR*.

¹⁸ Stalin, *O natsional'nom voprose*, 5–13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 281.

the pronunciation of borrowed words in the Kyrgyz language as an illiterate distortion of Russian words. According to their logic, the natural process of linguistic assimilation was not valid. For example, in the Kyrgyz language, there are no words that begin with a combination of two consonants. When such borrowed words are assimilated in the Kyrgyz language, a corresponding synharmonic vowel is added at the beginning of the word, for example: rus. *shkola* > *üşköl* (school), rus. *stena* > *isten* (change) etc. This also applies to Russian words with a combination of two or three consonants, for example: rus. *shtraf* (fine), rus. *tsentr* (center), rus. *struktura* (structure), etc. The law also prohibited replacing the sounds [v], [j], [ʃ], [ts], [šč], [x], which are uncharacteristic for the Kyrgyz language, by suitable Kyrgyz consonants. These phonemes were introduced into the alphabet of the Kyrgyz language previously in 1940, together with the Cyrillic alphabet. Since then, this has caused controversy in the writing and pronouncing of many loan words. If in writing the requirements of the law are observed, then in oral speech the natural norms of the language prevail, and the word Russian *shtraf* (fine) is pronounced as [ɬʃtɪrap], *tsentr* (center) [séntɪr], and *shchyotka* (brush) becomes [ʃótka], etc. Even today the Russian-like pronunciation of the borrowed words in Kyrgyz speech is unnatural for many native Kyrgyz language speakers.

In the unified Soviet space, the only possible practice of language development was to achieve a “free command of the Russian language by the entire population of the USSR as the language of interethnic communication, cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance of the peoples of the country”,²⁰ and a full functioning of the Russian language in all spheres of life in all republics. This thesis was supported by the impossibility of translating numerous socioeconomic, political, educational and other processes into all the national languages of the Soviet Union. The known Soviet sociolinguist Yu. Desheriyev wrote about teaching sciences at the universities of the Soviet republics:

In the second half of the sixties and in the first half of the seventies, new socially conditioned tendencies were observed in the linguistic life of the Union republics. The essence of these trends lies in the fact that the desire for unlimited expansion of the functions of the languages of the Union republics in the field of science and technology turned out to have neither social base, nor vital need. Thus, it turned out to be impossible for economic reasons to translate into the main languages of the Union republics all the necessary educational, pedagogical and scientific and technical literature necessary for teaching many hundreds of disciplines, many sections of the internal differentiation of each branch of science and technology, represented in 348 higher educational institutions operating in fourteen Union republics (except the RSFSR).²¹

In 1970, 19.1 percent of the Kyrgyz were fluent in Russian.²² According to the 1979 census, this indicator increased to thirty percent, and only 1.2 percent of Russian speakers knew Kyrgyz. In 1989, out of 141,000 Kyrgyz living in Frunze, the capital of the then

²⁰ Desheriyev, *Zakonomnosti razvitiya literaturnyh yazykov narodov SSSR*, 14.

²¹ *ibid.*, 12.

²² *Narodnoe hozyaistvo SSSR v 1970 godu*, 684.

republic Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, now named Bishkek, eighty-four percent were able to speak Russian. Almost the entire population was more or less fluent in Russian. By the time of perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the phenomenon of bilingualism was at its highest development.

During the 1970s, it was announced that a developed socialist society of “evolved social relations was built in the USSR, in which on the basis of the convergence of all classes and social strata, legal and actual equality of all nations and nationalities, their fraternal cooperation, a new historical community of people—the Soviet nation was formed”.²³ The Russian language was declared “an effective means of solving magnificent tasks”.²⁴ Gradually, the Soviet language policy became characterized by an imbalance, focusing on the maximum spread of national-Russian bilingualism, while ignoring the development of national languages. Thus, in Kyrgyzstan, the Kyrgyz language initially was introduced as a compulsory subject into the school curriculum. In the 1960s, it began to be taught at the request of students, and then was completely excluded from the curriculum for non-Kyrgyz language schools.²⁵ The number of preschool children’s institutions increased, and almost all of them worked in Russian. In 1989 in Frunze, out of more than 250 schools, only two schools had instruction in Kyrgyz.²⁶

With the spread of literacy among the population and the tightening of the party dictatorship during the Soviet times, the media became the main tool of propaganda. Newspapers and magazines had to urgently print lengthy documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and other propaganda materials translated into Kyrgyz. In the conditions of that time, including the shortage of trained translators and the lack of the relevant vocabulary in the journalistic style of the Kyrgyz language, the practice of translation was one of the most difficult tasks for linguists. The materials were to be published strictly the next day in Kyrgyz newspapers and distributed throughout the republic. The short notice and the absence of the necessary Kyrgyz terminology played a disastrous role in formation of the newspaper style of the Kyrgyz language.

The development of bilingualism was accompanied by the unequal participation of the Kyrgyz, Russian and other languages, that exist in Kyrgyzstan (Uzbek, Uigur, Dungan, etc.) in various spheres of society. The spheres that emerged with Soviet power, such as public administration, office work, higher education, industry, modern culture and art, have developed mainly in Russian. In Kyrgyz and other national languages, the necessary infrastructures were not fully formed. This led to the situation that they gradually remained on the periphery of social and political life, limiting themselves to servicing family and household spheres, secondary school education in rural areas and traditional national culture.

²³ *Konstitutsiya SSSR* [USSR Constitution], 4.

²⁴ *Moguchiy faktor natsional'no-yazykovogo razvitiya*, 5.

²⁵ Artıkbaev, *Mamlekettik tildin maseleleri*, 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

The unevenness of linguistic competence and, as a result, the divergent processes in the use of language, led to a social stratification of the population. The more educated urban population increasingly switched to Russian, using their native languages less and less even in everyday life. As a result, the younger generations in the cities became more and more “Russified”, not being brought up in their native language and traditions. Brought up in different sociocultural environments, urban and rural Kyrgyz began to differ from each other not only linguistically, but also in manners, clothes, etc. The Kyrgyz started dividing into real “*Kirgiz*” and Russian-speaking “*Kirghiz*”, the latter viewed as traitors to the nation. It was clear that the education and careers of the younger generations depended on knowledge of the Russian language. The threat of losing the national language soon became more and more real.

Gradually, the realization came that the nation was close to the loss of the native language. With it came the loss of national identity and everything that represents the Kyrgyz spiritual and cultural core.

Chingiz Aitmatov’s 1990 novel, *I dol’she veka dlitsya den’* (*The Day Lasts More than a Hundred Years*), presents a character who becomes a *mankurt*,²⁷ a captured person, turned into a soulless slave creature, completely subordinate to the owner and not remembering anything from his previous life. Relying on allegorical form, the writer was able to clearly express the issue, which like “a bare nerve” worried the Soviet society. It was about the issue of preserving the national heritage. In a figurative sense, *mankurt* refers to a person who has lost touch with his historical and national roots. In this sense, *mankurt* began to be widely used among the people as a pejorative, in journalism, and, as a neologism, entered dictionaries of many languages.²⁸

The one-sided language policy of the Soviet Communist party increasingly contradicted national interests and hindered the development of languages. Unsurprisingly, this led to irritation with the state’s arbitrary (dictatorial) policy among the people and, eventually, to a crisis in the interethnic sphere. The first signs of this were articles appearing in the central and local press that pointed out the flaws and shortcomings of the state’s national and language policies.²⁹

Furthermore, weakening the power of the dictatorial machine on the eve of perestroika released the steam of ethnopatriotic sentiment that had been brewing for a long time throughout the country. Heated debates flared up on the pages of newspapers and magazines about the vices of Soviet internationalism, the fate of national languages and

27 Aitmatov, *I dol’she veka dlitsya den’*.

28 Efremova, *Bol’shoy sovremennyy tolkovyy slovar’ russkogo yazyka*. 2012; *Bol’shoy ukrainsko-russkiy slovar’*; Lopatina, *Uchebnyy orfograficheskiy slovar’ russkogo yazyka* Lopatina; Kurmanbayuli, Malbakov and Soybekov, eds. *Kazak Sözdigi*.

29 Aitmatov, “Zhivi i davay Zhit’ drugim”; “Dvujazychie: Problemy i suzhdeniya. Voprosy, zhdushie resheniya; Shelike, “Rasslyšat’ drug druga”; Elagin, *Sokhranim li sebya kak natsiyu?*; *Status rodnogo jazyka*; Khuzangay, *Pravo na nasledstvo*; “Cifry poter’, Tsifry nadezhd”; Elger, *O rodnom yazyke*; Simakov, *Byla li reshena natsional’naya problema v SSSR?*; *Jazyk v kontekste obshchestvennogo razvitiya*.

cultures, etc. The first to speak were representatives of the intelligentsia, scientists and prominent public figures, who reasonably expressed their opinions on the situation in the USSR. One of the first to speak his weighty words was Chingiz Aitmatov, who at that time was a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and spoke at the congress. Here is what he said in one of his speeches, which was published in the central *Literaturnaya gazeta* under the title “Zhivi i davay zhit’ drugim” (Live and let live):

For too long we have avoided what cannot be avoided, for too long we have declared the desired ideals without thinking about the ways of their implementation And this even though we really live in a gigantic conglomerate of peoples, where language planning on the part of the parliament and the state should have been one of the most important regulating functions. But Perestroika has moved us to this line . . . the dialectic of the language process in most of the country’s national regions consists in the paradoxical and increasingly complicated, especially in the post-war period, phenomenon of national “de-lingualization”, stylistic degeneration and the steady loss of social functions by languages. Our trouble was that the more the need for the practical application and multiplication of the functions of national languages in various spheres of modern life increased, the less was the opportunity to realize this need. Holding meetings only in Russian has become a general rule for everyone and everywhere. Before the intelligentsia in the republics, the question was unequivocally posed: if you know Russian, then why would you speak in your native language? For what purpose?!

Such was the heavy price of the exorbitant centralization and monopolization of the spiritual life of Soviet society, including language policy, the price of the vulgar politicization of culture, the opposition of linguistic and national interests, of a situation where the problems of languages were not subject to discussion at all, and any thought on this score was immediately banished as a nationalist.³⁰

He also wrote about the need to take measures at the state level: “We must look for ways to solve these problems by creating a legal democratic state that guarantees the rights of citizens and entire peoples to satisfy their basic linguistic needs.”³¹

At the same time, Aitmatov always emphasized the enduring importance of native language-Russian bilingualism in the Soviet Union but believed that it was necessary to eliminate the existing imbalances:

[T]here should be a socially responsible society, where bilingualism presupposes complete equality of languages and even some reasonable privilege, assistance to the developing national language. This is the spirit of internationalism.³²

In an actively developing discussion on language issues, representatives of different nationalities and professions expressed their views. Most of them spoke about distor-

³⁰ Aitmatov, “Zhivi i davay zhit’ drugim.”

³¹ Aitmatov, “Zhivi i davay zhit’ drugim.”

³² Glazova, *Bilingvizm po Aitmatovu* [Bilingualism according to Aitmatov], accessed 04 February 2023, http://falangeoriental.blogspot.com/2011/06/blog-post_9204.

tions in national policy and the further decline of national languages.³³ But there were also many who were convinced of the correctness of the Soviet way and opposed the division of the integrated Soviet people along ethnic lines. “Why separate children into different kindergartens and schools?” they asked.³⁴ Further events took on a more active character. Rallies in defense of linguistic rights began, and demands were also added to the restoration of historical geographical names, the rehabilitation of repressed names, etc.

In 1989, at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the Kyrgyz SSR, the Law on the State Language was adopted. Its adoption under the conditions of the Soviet political and ideological regime of that time was a great victory for the democratically minded forces, realizing the importance of the native language for national identity of the people. As one of the initiators of the law, S. Musaev recalls:

[I]n the mid-1980s, we desperately tried to reach out to the authorities to pass a law giving the Kyrgyz language the official status. But every time we ran into difficulties, because the country's leadership focused on Moscow and none of the leaders of that time had the courage to raise such an issue.³⁵

The adoption of the law on the regulation of language development by the state became a sign of national independence and revival. Following the Law, the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Kyrgyz SSR, “Measures to provide the functioning of the state language on the territory of the Kyrgyz SSR” was adopted with a list of large-scale measures in the main spheres of the republic's life.

The adoption of the law on the state language in Kyrgyzstan became a link in the chain of the “parade of laws on the state languages”, which took place in all Soviet republics during 1988–1999. Such immediate state decisions on the language issues indicated that the situation has reached a critical point. According to some experts, it was with the language issue that Perestroika began. According to M.N. Guboglo:

[T]he events, facts and documents made it possible to logically identify the essence of three crucial years, including 1989 as the year of language reform, 1990 as the year of the “sovereignization” of the former Soviet republics, and, finally, 1991 as the year of the formal collapse of the former USSR.³⁶

33 Aldaşev, “Til çarbasın kolgo alalı; See also “Dvuyazychie: problemy i suzhdeniya. Voprosy, zhdushie resheniya”; Ivanov-Smolensky, *Uroki yazyka*; Nazarkulov, *Kırğızça bala-bakçalarga rahmat*; and many others.

34 Shelike, “Rasslyshat’ drug druga.” Also: Baranikas and Gryzunov, “Social’nyye korni natsional’nykh problem”; Borisov, “Ne nado sozdavat’ sebe trudnosti.”

35 “Syrtbody Musaev,” 24.kg.

36 Guboglo, *Yazyki etnicheskoy mobilizatsii*, 167, cited from Isaev, *Etnolingvisticheskiye problemy v*, 101–117.

4 Period of Independence

On August 31, 1991, an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Kyrgyz SSR (Jogorku Kenesh) adopted a resolution on the “Declaration of State Independence of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan”. According to the declaration, the Kyrgyz Republic was declared an independent, sovereign, democratic state.

The implementation of the Law on the state language began with the introduction of the subject of the Kyrgyz language in secondary and higher educational institutions, opening of additional departments at universities, and introduction of final state exams in this subject. Additionally, paragraph 6 of the Decree on “issuing identity documents to citizens in compliance with national traditions in writing personal names and surnames from November 1, 1989, and replacing documents from July 1, 1990, was actively implemented. Simultaneously with the replacement of the Soviet passports, many Kyrgyz changed the generally practiced spelling of surnames with the Russian suffix “-ov/-ova” to Kyrgyz phrases with the nouns *uulu* (son) or *kızı* (daughter) in the possessive case, e.g. *Bakir uulu* instead of *Bakirov*, *Sadyk kızi* instead of *Sadykova*. Currently, both variants of spelling of surnames are allowed according to wishes of citizens. Also, many historical geographical names were restored, for example, the capital of *Frunze* became *Bishkek*, *Przhevalsk Karakol*, *Rybachye Balykchy*, etc.

The Law on the State Language fostered the development of radio and television, as well as newspapers and magazines in the Kyrgyz language, which were in great demand. A variety of children’s, educational, sociopolitical, popular science, music, etc. programs appeared on TV. According to a study by the “Journalist” public association, today there are 159 newspapers, twenty-five TV channels and twenty-six radio stations in Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyz-language media prevailed. These are 125 newspapers, twenty-six TV channels and seventeen radio stations. In second place are Russian-language media: seventy-one newspapers, twenty-one TV channels and seventeen radio stations.

Despite noticeable changes in the state of the language in the Kyrgyz Republic and the activation of the Kyrgyz language in some respects over the past thirty years, there is not yet a directed state policy to develop the functions and infrastructures of languages and improve the state of the language in the country. The immaturity of the language policy is evidenced by the organizational mistakes made by the state in implementing the law on the state language. Thus, immediately after the adoption of the law, a large-scale effort of overall linguistic education was organized in all educational institutions, offices and industrial enterprises, mainly for persons of non-Kyrgyz nationality. For this purpose, all the Kyrgyz language teachers, philologists, and even humanities-based scholars who only spoke Kyrgyz were mobilized. This caused a concern among the citizens of nontitular nationality who feared it would be forbidden to speak Russian. It should also be noted that the state of didactic capabilities of the Kyrgyz language at that time in no way met the task and that made the process of learning difficult and inefficient, and therefore often formal. A lot of public money was spent on this initiative. Gradually, this idea came to naught.

During the years of independence, more than fifty different government documents on the provisions of the law were adopted. The law itself was also edited several times, but its first edition was taken as the basis.

In view of the bilingualism and the role of the Russian language in the Kyrgyz Republic, another language law, “About the official language of the Kyrgyz Republic”, was adopted in 2000. In all minority schools that teach in Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Russian, Tajik, Turkish, Dungan and other languages, the Kyrgyz and Russian languages are taught as compulsory subjects.

In 1998, a special Commission on the State Language under the auspices of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic was established. This commission became the authorized state body with the mission of pursuing a unified policy in the field of language development in KR. However, to date the Commission has failed to become a strategic vanguard of language policy in the country, to plan and implement large-scale activities at the state level such as preparing a resource base and technical conditions for the development of languages, including training specialists and translators, linguistic control over printed products, new dictionaries and business paper samples, translating into Kyrgyz and publishing foreign literature, etc.

Many tasks of the general plan adopted in 1989 by the government are not fulfilled to date and are being postponed from plan to plan for future periods. The commission is mainly engaged in applied activities, like inspecting advertisements, holding special events and concerts in honor of the state language, purifying the language from foreign words, etc. Several collections of new words and phrases, suggested for use instead of Russian borrowings were published.³⁷ However, most of the neologisms created by the commission, like *şamçümböt* for rus. *abazhur* (lampshade), *dasık* for rus. *kvalifikaciya* (qualification), *şartsan* for rus. *kvorum* (quorum), *kuru kıyal* for rus. *utopiya* (utopia), etc., are not accepted by the speakers and are not used. The work of the commission is often criticized by the public.

Economic processes also have a significant impact on the development of the native language in the country. The collapse of the USSR evoked active sociopolitical and economic processes, which have had a strong impact on the state of the language. Until now, the formation of language policy in the Kyrgyz Republic has taken place in difficult social, political and economic conditions, which are affecting the development of the native language. They are:

1. An economic downturn, which has an impact on the standards of living and education of the population.
2. The active outflow of the Russian-speaking population caused by the closure of many enterprises where they worked, the return to their historical homeland, and the search for a better life.

³⁷ *Uçurda aktivdöö koldonulup jatkan sayasiy.*

3. The mass migration of indigenous people due to deteriorating living conditions. Part of the working-age population began to travel abroad in search of work and a better life.
4. Massive migration processes within the republic, leading the rural population to actively move to cities in search of work.
5. The return to the historical homeland of the Kyrgyz living abroad.

According to statistics, in the post-Soviet period, the population of the republic steadily decreased because of external migration, and there were noticeable changes in the ethnic structure of the population. The share of the titular population increased: while in 1989 the Kyrgyz made up 52.4 percent of the total population, in 2002 the share increased to 66.9 percent, and in 2009 it was seventy-one percent.³⁸ The share of the Russian population has significantly decreased. At present Russians have become the third largest ethnic group in Kyrgyzstan, after giving way to Uzbeks. Thus, in 1989, the share of the Russian population in Kyrgyzstan was 21.5 percent, in 2002 10.7 percent, and in 2009 7.8 percent. As researchers write: Since gaining independence, about one million people have left the territory of Kyrgyzstan for the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and other countries abroad.

Of this number, more than 700,000 immigrated to the Russian Federation, about 500,000 of which received Russian citizenship. The external migration process is, to a greater extent, provoked by economic factors. For most migrants, migration is a long-term strategy”.³⁹

Labor migration of people to the Russian Federation has not only economic significance, but also implicitly affects the language picture in Kyrgyzstan. First, this is reflected in the need to learn Russian among the rural population, which makes up 64.7 percent of the total population, the majority of which (75.6 percent) are representatives of the titular ethnicity.⁴⁰ While in Soviet times, urban Kyrgyz were almost entirely fluent in Russian, the rural population mostly spoke Kyrgyz, and this was the environment that preserved the national language and customs. After *perestroika* and the collapse of the collective farms in which the villagers worked, most people were left without work, and migration became the only way for them to find work. These circumstances explain the interest of young people in learning foreign languages, especially Russian. Accordingly, paid language courses are being opened, and youth and children who have come from a rural environment are striving to improve their knowledge of the Russian language. In general, economic interests are a significant factor influencing the state of the native language in the country. The ties between the CIS countries, which were established in Soviet times and still remain, require knowledge of the Russian language for the implementation of economic activity. In Kyrgyzstan, most businessmen are Kyrgyz.

³⁸ *Perepis' naseleniya*, 91.

³⁹ *Yedinyy doklad po migratsii*, 11.

⁴⁰ *Perepis' naseleniya*, 93.

However, in Kyrgyz business there is a certain dualism, a division based on the principle of linguistic competence. Kyrgyz who speak Russian poorly carry out a broad supply of labor, while positions requiring more extensive knowledge of modern technology and business relations are occupied by those who are fluent in Russian. For example, in mobile communication systems, banks, real estate activities and other new types of entrepreneurship Russian-speaking Kyrgyz are mainly employed; besides many large firms and enterprises are under the control of Russian companies. Rural Kyrgyz are employed in small-scale retail trade and services, as well as in traditional national crafts. In the conditions of a market economy, new areas of activity have appeared that contribute to the revival of Kyrgyz traditions in everyday life. Kyrgyz-speaking producers are dominating the new services and products that have emerged recently. Trade in national souvenirs, shirdaks, kalpaks, drinks and food became popular. Clothing based on national motifs came into fashion, and enterprising women have organized special workshops where they prepare full sets of dowries for brides. Yurts appeared adapted for mini cafes with a national flavor in the decoration and menu. All these industries are organized by Kyrgyz-speaking businessmen.

Without going deep into the economic analysis, it can be noted that in Kyrgyzstan, there is a certain division of types of economic activity, and hence income, based on language competence. As scientists write: "According to market relations, the interest in mastering a second language is determined by the possibility of higher earnings when using it".⁴¹ Knowledge of the Russian language, which makes it possible for the national economy to enter the entire space of the CIS and some countries of the far abroad, plays a significant role in the linguistic life of Kyrgyzstan. Thus, some of the fundamental parameters of the language situation in Kyrgyzstan, which developed together with the introduction of the corresponding social and economic systems in the recent history and have taken root in it, still play an essential role in these areas of the country's life.

Thirty years of independent language policy in Kyrgyzstan have brought significant changes to the language life of the country. Giving an official status to the Kyrgyz language contributes to the tangible expansion and activation of its functions, and the development of its corpus and styles. The use of the state language is expanding in the spheres of everyday life, art, humanities, parliament, and local government practice, etc. Yet this should only be seen as an initial step toward real language reforms in the country. Solving many of the accumulated problems related to both improving the state of the language in multiethnic Kyrgyzstan and raising the Kyrgyz language to its state status requires time and significant effort on the part of the government and society.

The last hundred years for the Kyrgyz language has been quite eventful. In a historically short period of time, the Kyrgyz language started from first establishing itself as a written language to acquiring of the status as the official government language. During this period, the language experienced both the pressure of Soviet totalitarianism and

41 Cauliner, "Wage Differences," 384–399, 388.

the chaos of the independence period, simultaneously gaining success and suffering losses. Based on what is described in the article, the gains and losses can be summarized as follows.

5 The Soviet Period of Language Development in the Kyrgyz SSR

Gains	Losses
a) the Soviet power radically changed the patriarchal life of the nomadic Kyrgyz, bringing not only a new sociopolitical system, but also European civilization; this period is marked by active growth of the Kyrgyz language inventory due to borrowings of entire layers of Russian vocabulary;	a) creating of cultures “national in form and socialist in content” marked the beginning of the oblivion and gradual loss of indigenous cultures, which directly affected indigenous languages;
c) loan words were assimilated and did not violate the phonetic features of the Kyrgyz language;	b) the replacement of the Latin script with Cyrillic in 1940;
d) For the first time the (Arabic) alphabet was adapted to the Kyrgyz language;	c) the beginning of russification under the slogan “flourishing and rapprochement of Soviet Nations”;
e) campaign to eliminate illiteracy among the population contributed to the development of the Kyrgyz language;	d) the adoption of the law on the writing of Russian and foreign loaned words in the Kyrgyz language according to the Russian spelling;
f) research and didactic systems of the Kyrgyz language were established;	e) introduction into the Kyrgyz alphabet, of sounds unusual for the Kyrgyz language: [v], [j], [f], [ts], [shch], [x];
g) basics of Kyrgyz language style was developed;	d) official paperwork in the Kyrgyz language began to take shape under the influence of Russian samples, which led to the mechanical borrowing of Russian syntactic constructions (calquing), into the Kyrgyz language;
h) a media system appeared with the first newspaper in the Kyrgyz language “Erkin-too” in 1924;	e) exclusion of the subject of the Kyrgyz language from the curriculums for non-Kyrgyz schools;
i) professional literature developed;	f) predominance of advantages of knowing Russian over the native language among Kyrgyz, the appearance of the phenomenon of changing the native language;
j) the foundations of national science were established;	g) the perspective and policy that characterized education in the fields of science and technology in indigenous languages as impractical;
k) books and textbooks in various fields were published;	h) the main goal is to maximize the spread of bilingualism, ignoring the development of national languages;
l) Kyrgyz-Russian bilingualism was widely developed;	i) development of a Russian-only official style;

6 Period of Independent Development of the Kyrgyz Republic

Gains	Losses
a) adoption of the Law on the state language of the Kyrgyz Republic;	a) vain efforts to train all citizens who speak other languages in the Kyrgyz language;
b) writing personal names and surnames according to national tradition;	b) inefficient work of the national Commission on the state language;
c) restoration of historical geographical names in the Kyrgyz language;	c) clogging of the language with spontaneous and artificial neologisms
d) introduction of the Kyrgyz language in secondary and higher education, opening more faculties and departments at universities, the introduction of the state graduation exam in this subject;	d) influence of external factors on the native language in the Kyrgyz Republic;
e) development of radio and television broadcasting, newspapers and magazines in the Kyrgyz language;	e) a puristic approach to language development;
f) the 2000 Law concerning the official status of the Russian language in the Kyrgyz Republic;	f) division of the life spheres of Kyrgyz society according to the language principle;
g) creation of the national Commission on the state language under the President of the Kyrgyz Republic;	g) social division of Kyrgyz into real “Kyrgyz” and Russian-speaking “Kirghiz”;
h) enrichment of the lexical fund of the language with neologisms;	h) lack of a long-term language development program in the Kyrgyz Republic;
i) activation of the functions of the Kyrgyz language, further development of its corpus and styles;	
j) activation of the native vocabulary in business due to revival of the Kyrgyz traditions in everyday life;	
k) interest of the rural population to learn foreign languages, in particular Russian;	

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What Can We Learn From the Mongolic Material in Kazakh and Kyrgyz?

1 Introduction

This study examines material of Mongolic origin in the Central Asian Turkic languages Kazakh and Kyrgyz.¹ As many words of Mongolic origin from across the respective lexicons of Kazakh and Kyrgyz as possible are examined, without limitation on semantic domain. Section 2 overviews relevant previous work.

Effort is devoted to limiting the study to just words that are in fact borrowings from a Mongolic variety and are not words common to both the Turkic and Mongolic families or borrowings from Turkic to Mongolic. Section 3 overviews this methodology.

The forms, meanings and domains of these loanwords are examined for what they reveal about the Mongolic variety(ies) they originated from; when the words were borrowed; the social context for the borrowing; the relative timing of various sound changes in the histories of Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Mongolic; and the effect the contact situation with Mongolic had on not just the lexicons but also the phonologies and morphologies of Kazakh and Kyrgyz.

These findings are presented in Section 4. The majority of the loanwords appear to be borrowings from a variety of Middle Mongol, with a few potential later borrowings. The loanwords cover a wide range of semantic domains (Section 4.1)—wider than Mongolic loanwords in Volga-area Turkic languages, like Tatar, although not as wide a

¹ This study is dedicated to the memories of Ilse Laude-Cirautas and György Kara, two great teachers who had a contagious passion for their work, who we've sadly recently lost. It was with Ilse opa that I first started learning in earnest about the history of Turkic languages and the study of historical Turkic varieties (2005–2007). It was also during study with her that I first became interested in Mongolic languages and the impacts of their contact with Turkic languages. Later (2008–2016) I began study of the Mongolic languages and their history with Kara bagsh and continued study of early Turkic languages with him as well. This paper was initially started as a project for a course I took with him, and is the current stop along the path that Ilse opa helped set me down.

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range as Mongolic loanwords in South Siberian Turkic languages, such as Tuvan. Findings related to number of borrowings are similar (Section 4.5). Loanwords were not entirely phonologically adapted and, in turn, affected the phonologies of Kazakh and Kyrgyz by contributing to the range of phonological shapes words may take in the languages (Section 4.2). Additionally, Mongolic-origin function words, bound morphemes and verbal semantic categories are present in these languages (Section 4.3), and a wide range of other parts of speech were borrowed (Section 4.4).

As discussed in Section 5, all this evidence suggests more intense contact between Mongolic languages and the linguistic ancestor(s) of Kazakh and Kyrgyz than between Mongolic and Volga-area Turkic languages, but less sustained contact than between Mongolic and South Siberian Turkic languages. However, only a single relatively early period of strong contact is indicated, followed by little further linguistic exchange, despite continued interactions between speakers of Mongolic and Central Asian Turkic languages. The scenario that best matches the linguistic evidence is a period of Mongolic dominance, followed by a period of Turkic dominance during which Mongolic speakers were integrated into Turkic-speaking society, abandoning Mongolic in favor of Turkic as they intermarried into Turkic-speaking families.

2 Background

This section overviews this historical context related to Mongolic loanwords in Kazakh and Kyrgyz (Section 2.1), the position of this study within other literature on Mongolic loanwords in Turkic languages (Section 2.2) and a few hypotheses about Mongolic loanwords in Turkic languages that this study is poised to address and should take into consideration (Section 2.3).

2.1 Historical Context

It is widely agreed that Turkic and Mongolic languages have been in contact for a long time. It is also posited based on investigations into loanwords (e.g., many of the sources on the earliest attested loans, as discussed in Section 2.2) that the two families share a history about which very little is known for sure (where exactly, when exactly, etc.). There is debate about the oldest shared vocabulary in Turkic and Mongolic languages—while some see a set of very early loanwords in one direction or both, others see a common genetic affiliation (while often allowing for loanwords as well).

More recent contact between speakers of Mongolic languages and speakers of precursors to modern Kazakh and Kyrgyz is also documented: the expansion of Oirat-speaking Jungars into Central Asia beginning in the seventeenth century led to geographical overlap and conflict between the Jungars and Turkic speaking groups in

the area, including predecessors of modern Kazakh and Kyrgyz speakers. One hypothesis must be, then, that some or all Mongolic loanwords in Kazakh and Kyrgyz come from this period.

One of the goals of the present study is to determine when in the history of Turkic-Mongolic contact the loanwords attested in Kazakh and Kyrgyz originated. The earliest layers of vocabulary common to Turkic and Mongolic are excluded from this study. This still leaves the following main hypotheses to explore (in chronological order):

1. Some time after the earliest contacts and before the Mongol expansion (between the sixth and twelfth centuries CE),
2. During the Mongol expansion (thirteenth century CE),
3. After the Mongol expansion but before the Jungar expansion (fourteenth through sixteenth century),
4. During the Jungar expansion (seventeenth century),
5. After the Jungar expansion (since the seventeenth century).

These five periods all involve contact between Mongolic and Turkic (including Kazakh and Kyrgyz) languages, but of different nature. Up to the Mongol expansion, Turkic and Mongolic speakers enjoyed dominance at different times in different places. During the Mongol expansion, the dominance of Mongolic speakers was at its height and largest geographic extent, while Turkic speakers were less privileged. Some time after the Mongol expansion Turkic speakers gained social prominence in many areas where Mongolic speakers had been dominant. During the Jungar expansion, Mongolic and Turkic speakers had social prominence in their own communities, but the communities were in conflict with one another. After this conflict ended, some Oirat speakers remained in close proximity with Kazakh and Kyrgyz speakers through the present day.² The linguistic evidence is examined with the context of this periodization in mind.

2.2 Mongolic Loanwords in Turkic Languages

This work is positioned within an extensive literature on Mongolic loanwords in Turkic languages.

Many dictionaries of modern Turkic languages—especially etymological dictionaries—mention some words as being of Mongolic origin,³ although comparisons with Mongolic languages are conspicuously sparse in some of these works, such as Judáx-

² Cf. Tiénišev, “O jazyké kalmýkov Issyk-Kúl’a.”

³ E.g., Seydaqmátov, *Qırğız tilinin qısqaça etimologiyalıq sözdüğü*.

in,⁴ and Isqáqov, Sızdıqova and Sarıbáyev,⁵ when, e.g., Arabic comparisons abound. A recent etymological dictionary of Mongolic languages attributes many words in modern Turkic languages (especially Kyrgyz) to Mongolic origins.⁶ Etymological attributions in all of these sources mostly seem to be based on similarities of words, and sometimes absence of a word in other Turkic languages the author may have been aware of—as opposed to thorough philology or even deference to another source.

Some studies also discuss a limited number of Mongolic loanwords in Turkic languages, such as Taşbaş on Turkic kinship terms,⁷ Shamaeva and Prokopieva on body part terms in Sakha (focus on Mongolic loans),⁸ Jankowski on Crimean toponyms and Níést'erova on fishing terms in Sakha (focus on Mongolic loans).⁹ However, none of these sources constitute systematic studies, and often just guess about Mongolic origin based on similarities of forms and potential absence of similar forms in some subset of other Turkic languages. Bazıl'xan attempts to quantify the overlap in the lexicons of Mongolian and Kazakh,¹⁰ but seems to also rely on similarity and does not distinguish between origin (Turkic, Mongolic, nondistinct, neither). With similar shortcomings, Sıdıqov lists around 500 words that appear to be similar in modern Mongolic languages and South Siberian and Central Asian Turkic languages, grouped by semantic domain.¹¹

The literature also includes various papers and monographs on the earliest attested Turkic and Mongolic varieties, with arguments that some of the common vocabulary constitutes Turkic-to-Mongolic loans,¹² Mongolic-to-Turkic loans,¹³ neither and both.¹⁴ These sources are part of the larger debate about whether the earliest set of common vocabulary represents borrowing (in support of anti-Altaic sentiments) or cognates (in support of pro-Altaic sentiments), with many of those in support of a genetic connection

4 Judáxin, *Qırğızça-orusça sözdük*.

5 Isqáqov, Sızdıqova and Sarıbáyev, *Qazaq tiliniñ qısqaşa etimologiyalıq sözdigi*.

6 Sanžéjev, Orlónskaja and Šev'érnina, *Etimologičeskij slovar' mongólskix jazykóv, I: A–E*; idem, *Etimologičeskij slovar' mongólskix jazykóv, II: G–P*; idem, *Etimologičeskij slovar' mongólskix jazykóv, III: Q–Z*.

7 Taşbaş, “The Turkic Kinship System”; idem, “Kinship Loanwords in the Turkic Languages.”

8 Shamaeva and Prokopieva, “Mongolian Loanwords in the Figurative Words of the Yakut Language.”

9 Jankowski, “Mongolian Loanwords in the Crimean Toponymy”; Níést'erova, “Mongólskije zaímstvovanija v l'éksike rybolóbstva jakútskogo jazyká.”

10 Bazıl'xan, “Krátkaja sravnít'el'no-istoričeskaja grammátika mongólskogo i kazáxsckogo jazykóv.”

11 Sıdıqov, “Túrko-Mongólskije paralléli.”

12 Poppe, “The Turkic Loan Words in Middle Mongolian”; Clauson, “The Earliest Turkish Loan Words in Mongolian”; idem, “The Turkish Elements in 14th Century Mongolian”; Šerbák, *T'úrkskomongólskije jazykovýje kontakty v istorii mongólskix jazykóv*; Rybatzki, “Classification of Old Turkic Loanwords in Mongolic.”

13 Gülensoy, “Eski ve orta Türkçede Moğolca kelimeler ve Moğolca-Türkçe müşterek kelimeler üzerine notlar”; Kuhl and Sasse, “Mongolica im Alttürkischen”; Doerfer, “The Older Mongolian Layer in Ancient Turkic.”

14 Clark, “Mongol Elements in Old Turkic?”; Šerbák, “T'úrksko-mongólskije jazykovýje sv'ázi”; idem, *Ránnije t'úrksko-mongólskije jazykovýje sv'ázi*; Schöning, “Turko-Mongolic relations.”

still at times investigating and acknowledging borrowing, although not as fervently as those pushing against the perspective of genetic relatedness.¹⁵ The present study is not concerned with these early loanwords, regardless of trajectory, and when it is apparent that matching words in Kazakh or Kyrgyz and Mongolic is from this set of “nondistinct” words, they are excluded from analysis as part of this study.

There is also more general work on Turkic and Mongolic languages that presents (proposed) Mongolic etymologies or comparisons of many words found in Turkic languages. This body of literature includes Clauson, Räsänen, Doerfer, Tiénišev et al., Sievortján, Ljevítskaja, Dybó and Rassádin, and Dybó.¹⁶ These are systematic studies that build on, interact with and critique one another, but none of them focus on any one modern language, and some of them examine only the oldest attested varieties of each family.

There are, however, a number of in-depth studies of Mongolic loans into modern Turkic languages. Modern Turkic languages can roughly be divided based on the extent of historical contact they have had with Mongolic languages: languages *proximal* to Mongolic languages, with a long history of constant interactions; *near-medial* languages, with strong early interactions and periodic interactions since; *far-medial* languages, which are proximal to the near-medial languages, but have not had much direct contact with Mongolic for some time; and *distant* languages, which may have only had a short period of contact at a very early date.

15 Ilse opa worked closely with and held in high regard Nicholas Poppe, an avid Altaicist, and her views were aligned with his in this regard. Kara bagsh, in my experience with him, did not take a strong stance either way but did concede that he believed the nondistinct Turkic-Mongolic vocabulary likely to be loanwords, at the same time considering it important to study “Altaic” languages together as if they constitute related languages, whether by a common origin or convergence. For a third approach to the Altaic debate more in line with my current views on the matter—an approach which assumes nondistinct Turko-Mongolic forms to be loans between unrelated language families but also problematizes the term “Altaic” even as used for a group of convergent languages—see Beckwith (“The Altaic Convergence Theory”).

16 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*; Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*; Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: I: Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*; idem, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: II: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen, alif bis ta*; idem, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: III: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen, gim bis kaf*; idem, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: IV: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen (Schluß) und Register zur Gesamtarbeit*; Tiénišev et al., *Sravnitel'naja grammátika túrkskix jazykóv: léksika*; Sievortján, *Etimologičeskij solvár' túrkskix jazykóv: 1*; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' túrkskix jazykóv: 2*; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' túrkskix jazykóv: 3*; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' túrkskix jazykóv: 4*; Ljevítskaja, Dybó and Rassádin, *Etimologičeskij solvár' túrkskix jazykóv: 5*; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' túrkskix jazykóv: 6*; Dybó, *Etimologičeskij solvár' túrkskix jazykóv: 7*; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' túrkskix jazykóv: 9*.

Studies of Mongolic material in proximal Turkic languages include those on Sakha,¹⁷ Tuvan and South Siberian Turkic languages generally.¹⁸ Studies on far-medial Turkic languages include those on Bashqort,¹⁹ Volga Qıpçaq (i.e., Tatar and Bashqort),²⁰ Chuvash,²¹ Karaim,²² Noğay,²³ Qaraçay-Balqar,²⁴ and the earlier varieties Cuman and Chağatay.²⁵ Studies on distant Turkic languages include those on Turkish and its predecessor Ottoman.²⁶ Besides a study of Mongolian loanwords in Salar,²⁷ the only systematic study of Mongolic loans into near-medial languages is limited to Mongolic loans into Kyrgyz beginning with the sound *a*.²⁸ The present study, then, represents a major expansion of work on Mongolic borrowings both in near-medial Turkic languages generally, and in Kazakh and Kyrgyz specifically.

A number of sources in this last group are not careful to exclude words which are nondistinct or could be earlier loans from Turkic into Mongolic, or are generally careful but miss a few. Commonly there are controversial entries, e.g., Csáki discusses the controversy behind whether *töle*-(krč) “pay” is borrowed from *töli*-(MMo) “pay off” or whether the Mongolic word is borrowed from Turkic, but concludes that it may be included as a borrowing from Mongolic found in Qarachay-Balqar.²⁹

2.3 Hypotheses About Mongolic Loanwords in Turkic

There are several hypotheses about Mongolic loanwords in Turkic that the present study is in a position to explore.

17 Kałużyński, “Mongolische Elemente in der Jakutischen Sprache.”

18 Rassádin, “O mongól'skix zaímstvovanijax v tûrkskix jazykax v Júžnoj Sibíri”; idem, *Mongolobur'át-skije zaímstvovanija v sibírskix tûrkskix jazykax*; Tatárintsev, *Mongól'skoje jazykovóje vlijánije na tuvínskuju l'éksiku*; Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*; Xabtagájeva, “O mongól'skix el'iem'éntax v tuvínskom jazyké.”

19 Išbiröin, “Mongól'skije zaímstvovanija v baškírskom jazyké.”

20 Csáki, *Middle Mongolian Loan Words in Volga Kipchak Languages*.

21 Róna-Tas, “Loan-Words of Ultimate Middle Mongolian Origin in Chuvash.”

22 Zajączkowski, “Die Mongolischen Elemente in der Karaimischen Sprache.”

23 Birtalan, “On Some Mongolian Loanwords in Nogai”; idem, “Further Remarks on the Mongolian Loanwords in Nogai.”

24 Csáki, “Middle Mongolian Loan Verbs as They Appear in Karachay-Balkar.”

25 Poppe, *Die mongolische Lehnwörter im Kommanischen*; Knüppel, “Noch einmal zu den mongolischen Lehnwörtern im Kommanischen”; Kincses Nagy, “Mongolian Loanwords in Chagatay”; Kincses- Nagy, *Mongolic Copies in Chaghatay*.

26 Tuna, “Osmanlıca Moğolca ödünç kelimeler”; idem, “Osmanlıcada Moğolca kelimeler”; Schöning, *Mongolische Lehnwörter im Westoghusischen*.

27 Drimba, “Remarks Mongolian Loanwords in the Salar Language.”

28 Kalieva, “Kırgız Türçesindeki Moğolca alıntı kelimeler.”

29 Csáki, “Middle Mongolian Loan Verbs as They Appear in Karachay-Balkar,” 57–58.

The *hypothesis of post-expansion borrowing* states that Mongolic borrowings in Turkic are essentially unattested until the Mongol expansion in the thirteenth century CE.³⁰ This may be tested by the dating of both Mongolic and Turkic sound changes attested in the borrowed forms.

The *hypothesis of proximity* states that Turkic languages west and north from the “central territory of the Mongols” have fewer direct Mongolic borrowings.³¹ This may be quantified by comparing the number of loans identified by sources that are complete studies of Mongolic loanwords in various Turkic languages—and hence are fairly exhaustive—to the results of this study.

The *hypothesis of secondary borrowing* states that Mongolic words in Bashqort, Balqar, Qumuq, Tatar, Ottoman, Crimean Tatar and Chuvash (far-medial and distant languages) are borrowed via another Turkic language.³² This hypothesis in theory may be quantified by identifying unexpected sound changes—e.g., changes picked up in the intermediary language that are not expected if the loans had entered the language directly. The present study does examine unexpected sound changes in Mongolic loanwords into Kazakh and Kyrgyz, and it is considered whether the words that underwent them may have been borrowed through an intermediary language. Similarly, it may be possible to examine whether Mongolic borrowings in the languages discussed by Ligeti went through an intermediary language represented in modern times by Kazakh and Kyrgyz.

This last hypothesis is mostly outside of the scope of this study, but it is important to take into consideration when an unexpected sound change is encountered.

3 Methodology

This section overviews why identifying loanwords can be a difficult task, especially between Turkic and Mongolic languages (Section 3.1), how not to identify loanwords (Section 3.2), ways that loanwords can be identified (Section 3.3) and further details of the methodology of this study (Section 3.4).

3.1 The Difficulty of Identifying Loanwords

Identification of loanwords between Turkic and Mongolic is difficult, due to various complicating factors.

³⁰ Clark, “Mongol Elements in Old Turkic?”

³¹ Ligeti, “Mongolos jövevényszavaink kérdése.”

³² Ibid.

First of all, a good handful of words reconstructable to the two respective proto-languages are not distinctive, or are minimally distinctive. For example, **qara* “black” may be reconstructed for both Proto-Turkic and Proto-Mongolic. Even in modern varieties, reflexes of these forms are not very distinct, e.g., Turkic *qara*^(kaz,kir) “black” corresponds to Mongolic *xar*^(khk) and *qara*^(sce) “id”.³³ Hence borrowed words can be very difficult to tell apart from nondistinct words, cf. *quda*^(kaz,kir) “(male) relatives of child’s spouse” is borrowed from Mongolic, with forms like *quda*^(WMo) and *xud*^(khk) “id”.

Additionally, as mentioned previously, borrowing has happened in both directions. The result includes borrowings into Turkic languages of Mongolic forms of nondistinct Turko-Mongolic words as well as borrowings into Turkic languages of Mongolic words borrowed originally from Turkic. Both of these types of borrowings might be termed “reborrowings”, since in both cases these words presumably existed in different forms before the borrowing replaced those forms. Examples include the following:

ayıl^(kir) “village” ← *ayıl*^(MMo) “settlement” ≈ *ağıl*^(OTk) “settlement” → *awıl*^(kaz) “village”;
qudıq^(kaz), *quduq*^(kir) “well” ← *quduy*^(WMo) “id” ← **quduy*^(PTk) “id” (← **qud*^(PTk) “pour”
 → *quy*^(kaz,kir) “pour”) → *kuyu*^(tur) “well”.

In this case, the Mongolic phonological form of *ayıl*^(kir) demonstrates that it must be of Mongolic origin and not Turkic, like *awıl*^(kaz) is. Likewise, the fact that *qudıq*^(kaz), *quduq*^(kir) did not undergo the **d* → *y* / *V* sound change like *kuyu*^(tur) did makes it clear that it must have been reborrowed,³⁴ very likely from a Mongolic source.

The fact that borrowing of this sort has been going on for at least one millennium (and likely as many as two millennia) can make it difficult to sort out the ultimate origin of words and the direction of borrowing. For example, if *ayıl*^(MMo) “settlement” ≈ *ağıl*^(OTk) “id” is not common to both language families due to a shared origin (“Altaic”), then it is not clear which family borrowed it from the other. With *quduy*^(MMo,OTk) “well”, it is clearer that this is a borrowing from Turkic, because of the existence of the stem **qud*^(PTk) “pour”, which it is derived from. If indeed *ayıl*^(MMo) turned out to be a borrowing from Turkic, then the situation of these two words may indeed be similar.

Another problem is that the phonologies of early Turkic and early Mongolic languages are not extremely different. There are many commonalities, such as similar

33 Khalkha forms in this paper are provided in something resembling their underlying representations, which often differ from orthographic or pronounced forms. For example, the word that would be transcribed here as *xaaly*^(khk) “door” is orthographically *xaalga*^(khk), and is pronounced *xaaləq*^(khk). See Svantesson et al. (*The Phonology of Mongolian*) for details on the mapping between Khalkha underlying forms, orthographic forms and pronunciations. In a few examples in this paper, pronounced forms are given to highlight a phonological process. Otherwise, common philological conventions are used in transcriptions, with some minor differences between Turkic and Mongolic transcriptions; e.g., where Turkic transcriptions use *ğ* for a voiced dorsal obstruent that is not a velar stop, Mongolic transcriptions use *y*.

34 I.e., it did not undergo the change of proto-Turkic *d* to *y* after a vowel.

vowel inventories that include front rounded vowels, similar consonant inventories and even similar environmental distribution of consonants (e.g., complementary distribution of uvulars and velars depending on adjacent vowel backness),³⁵ and similar syllable structure. There are a number of specific phonotactic differences (such as the lack of many high-sonority consonants word-initially in Turkic),³⁶ but even many of those can be attributed to later changes and may not be present in reconstructions.

The similarity of the phonologies of the languages, besides making it harder to tell the ultimate origin of loans, also results in disguised borrowings. For example, Turkic **yöl^(PTk)* “road, path” can be understood to have been borrowed into Mongolic as *jö^(MMo)* “luck”, likely from a Turkic variety that underwent a word-initial change **y* → *j*. In Kyrgyz and Kazakh, then, which both underwent this same change, the form of *jöl^(kir,kaz)* “road, path; luck” could come from either source; however, the semantics suggest that it may indeed come from *both* sources. Sakha provides clear evidence of this in the phonology: *suöl^(sah)* “road, path” is of Turkic origin, undergoing the expected sound changes from Proto-Turkic, while *jöl^(sah)* “luck” was borrowed from a Mongolic source after those sound changes had taken place, so the word was not affected by them. Another example based solely on semantic evidence and lacking phonological evidence, is *toqu^(kir)* “weave; saddle (v.)”, with one meaning inherited from Turkic (*toqu^(OTk)* “weave”) and the other meaning from Mongolic (*toqu^(MMo)* “saddle (v.)”).

More generally, words come and go in all languages, and words change meanings in all languages, obscuring origins or making it difficult to say for sure the origin of a given similar word or even that the word is the same.

3.2 How *Not* to Identify a Loanword

There are a number of ways *not* to identify a loanword. Here I will overview the following “anticriteria”: early absence of a word, early presence of a word, prevalence of a word in one or the other family, semantic narrowing or broadening, and cultural history. It is important to explain why these were not used as criteria in the identification of loanwords.

Early absence of a word. When a word is absent in corpora of early varieties, this does not mean that the word was borrowed into later varieties from another source, and it does not mean that its source in later varieties is another language family. It could very easily be a simple case of a word not attested in an early variety. For example, if a word is not attested in any pre-thirteenth-century CE Turkic variety, but is attested in

35 Washington, “Vowel harmony in Turkic languages,” Chap. 59 in *The Oxford Handbook of Vowel Harmony*, edited by Nancy Ritter and Harry van der Hulst. Oxford: Oxford University Press (forthcoming).

36 Washington, “Sonority-Based Affix Unfaithfulness in Turkic Languages.”

later Mongolic sources and later Turkic languages, it does not necessarily mean that the word is of Mongolic origin. It is possible that the word was used in Old Turkic and is simply not present in the Old Turkic corpus.

Early presence of a word. Similarly, the presence of a word in an early variety of language family A and later varieties of language family B does not mean that the word was borrowed from language family A into language family B. For example, when a word is attested in an early Mongolic corpus and is also present in modern Turkic varieties, this does not mean the word was borrowed from a Mongolic variety into the Turkic varieties. It is possible that the word was borrowed from a Turkic source into the early Mongolic variety, that the word is borrowed from a third language family or that the word is otherwise nondistinct in Turkic and Mongolic.

It should be noted, however, that the absence of a word in pre-thirteenth-century CE Turkic varieties and its presence in an early Mongolic variety may suggest that evidence of a Mongolic origin should be investigated, especially given the scarcity of Mongolic material from this time frame relative to Turkic material. The apparent presence of a word in pre-thirteenth-century CE Turkic varieties, though, may sometimes warrant additional evaluation.³⁷

Prevalence of word in family. The greater prevalence of a word in one language family does not mean it did not originate in the other. For example, the wide distribution of *čöl*^(MMo) “desert, desolate” in Mongolic (along with derivatives and various meanings) does not necessarily mean that *čöl*^(kir), *šöl*^(kaz) “desert” is of Mongolic origin. While not attested in most Turkic languages, this word appears to have been attested in Turkic relatively early. It is possible that a word like this was in fact a borrowing in the other direction (from Turkic to Mongolic),³⁸ and simply became more prevalent in Mongolic while losing prevalence in Turkic.

Semantic narrowing or broadening. Csáki proposes that the language with the narrower meaning is the language into which a word was borrowed.³⁹ Relying on semantic narrowing or broadening to determine direction of a loan word, however, is impossible, since narrowing and broadening occur frequently within any given language. So while narrowing may occur in the context of loanwords, as in *čečen*^(MMo) “wise, skillful” → *šešen*^(kaz) “orator”, *čečen*^(kir) “well-spoken, orator”, so does broadening, as in *möče*^(MMo) “limb” → *müčö*^(kir), *müše*^(kaz) “body part, member”.

³⁷ As discussed by Clark, “Mongol Elements in Old Turkic?”

³⁸ As suggested by Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, 117.

³⁹ Csáki, *Middle Mongolian Loan Words in Volga Kipchak Languages*.

Cultural history. Csáki proposes that if a word is of a domain associated with one culture then it must be a borrowing from the language family associated with that culture.⁴⁰ She goes so far as to suggest that words associated with horse breeding in Turkic languages are more likely to have a Mongolic origin. While some words in Turkic languages in that semantic domain are from Mongolic, like *dönen*^(kaz), *dönön*^(kir) ← *dönen*^(MMo) “four-year-old male livestock”, plenty also have Turkic origins, like *ayğır*^(kaz,kir) ← *aðğır*^(OTk) “stallion”, *ılqı*^(kaz,kir) “herd horse” ← *yılqı*^(OTk) “herd horse, large livestock”. For the most part, then, semantic domain must be ignored as a tool for identifying borrowings.

Previous studies or dictionaries. It must also be said that a word should not be considered a loanword just because a previous source or etymological dictionary identifies it as such. Not all sources are equally careful or use the same principles to identify loanwords. Words identified by previous sources of this type are, however, worth considering, and when excluded from the current study, must be excluded for principled reasons.

3.3 Potential Ways to Identify a Loanword

Fortunately, there exist a number of ways that a loanword can be identified.

Phonological criteria. If a word contains a sound in a position where it should not occur in nonborrowed words (based on known phonological gaps or sound changes), then there’s a good chance it is a loanword. For example, Mongolic loanwords in Kazakh and Kyrgyz appear to comprise the earliest layer of the lexicon with initial *d*, *n* and *s*:

düley^(kaz), *dülöy*^(kir) “deaf” ← *dülei*^(MMo) “id”,

şırt^(kir) “stitch, quilt” ← *siri*^(MMo) “id”,⁴¹

nağası^(kaz) “male relative on mother’s side” ← *nayaču*^(MMo) “id”.

Aside from a very small handful of exceptions, such as *ne*^(kaz,kir) “what” and *de*^(kaz,kir) “say”, there are no Turkic stems that fit these phonological patterns in Kazakh and/or Kyrgyz. It is also worth mentioning that the reasoning may be slightly circular, since we can examine the ways in which Mongolic words were and were not adapted to Turkic phonology (Section 4 2); the ways they were not adapted, then, may be used as evidence of their identity as loanwords.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ But see Clark (“Mongol Elements in Old Turkic?,” 151–152), who suggests that this root may not be a Mongolic loanword in Turkic.

Morphological criteria. If a word contains a morpheme that is used widely in one language family and is only attested in a few words in another family, then a word that contains that morpheme attested in both language families is likely to be a loan from the family where the morpheme is widely used. For example, *-yul*^(MMo) is attested in a few loanwords from Mongolic in Kazakh and Kyrgyz,⁴² but not elsewhere:

jasawul^(kaz), *jasool*^(kir) “yesaul, lackey” ← *jasayul*^(MMo) “yesaul (marshal)” and
qarawul^(kaz), *qarool*^(kir) “guard” ← *qarayul*^(MMo) “id”.⁴³

Etymological criteria. If a word is attested in two language families but the root from which it is derived is attested widely in one family but not attested in the other, then the word is likely borrowed from the language family where the root is attested into the other family. For example, the positing of *unaa*^(kir) “transport” as borrowed from *unuya*^(MMo) “transport” is supported by the existence of *unu*-^(MMo) “ride” throughout Mongolic and its absence throughout Turkic.

Synonyms. If a language of one family has two words, roughly synonyms, for a concept, and one of the words corresponds to the sole word for that concept in another language family, then that word is likely a borrowing from that language family. For example, in Kyrgyz *qolqap*^(kir) “glove, mitten” is of transparently Turkic etymology, while the synonym *meeley*^(kir) “glove, mitten” corresponds to Mongolic *begelei*^(MMo) “glove, mitten”, where no other word is commonly attested for this concept. Hence the latter Kyrgyz word is likely to be a borrowing from Mongolic.

No single criterion listed here can be used on its own to determine whether or not a word is a loanword from a particular source language. These strategies must be used together, along with careful application of the comparative method, to determine the origin of a word. Even then it can be unclear.

3.4 Identifying Material for this Study

This study was guided by the above-mentioned ideas about how not to identify loanwords and how to identify loanwords. Several hundred vocabulary items were identified that were similar between Mongolian on the one hand and Kazakh and/or Kyrgyz on the other. Then they were filtered based on origin; only words that were plausibly

⁴² See Poppe (*Grammar of Written Mongolian*, 46) for some discussion of *-yul*.

⁴³ The verb *qara*-^(WMo,kaz,kir) “look at, watch” is widely considered a word of Mongolic origin, likely due to its more limited distribution in Turkic, the existence of the Turkic synonym **baq*-^(PTk) and the lack of synonyms in Mongolic. These criteria are sufficient for the present study to come to the same conclusion; however, there is a chance this word could be a nondistinct Turko-Mongolic word.

of Mongolic origin and not common to Mongolic and Turkic languages were included in the study. Additionally, all the words from Csáki were compared against Kyrgyz,⁴⁴ from which about 115 matched words in Kyrgyz. From this list as well, several items were removed that were not uncontroversially borrowings from Mongolic. In the end, approximately 200 borrowings from Mongolic into Kazakh and/or “Kyrgyz identified”.⁴⁵ Toponyms were not considered, although there do appear to be quite a few of Mongolic origin in current Kazakh- and Kyrgyz-speaking areas.

Sources consulted for early Turkic forms include Nadiel'ájev et al.,⁴⁶ Räsänen and Clauson.⁴⁷ Sievort'án; L'evítskaja, Dybó and Rassádin; and Dybó were consulted for their perspectives on Turkic etymology, including reconstructions.⁴⁸ Zhu and Junast were consulted for modern Mongolic forms,⁴⁹ Lessing was consulted for Written Mongolic forms and Sanžéjev, Orlóvskaja and Ševiernina and Nugteren were consulted for their perspectives on Mongolic reconstruction.⁵⁰ Some Turkic and Mongolic dictionaries were also consulted for modern forms, such as Judáxin and Munin.⁵¹

It should be noted that there are two main reasons this study examines both Kazakh and Kyrgyz material. First of all, it is convenient to study the two languages together. While the languages are different along all dimensions of grammar (phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, lexicon, etc.), they are also very similar, and enjoy some tangible (albeit sometimes limited) level of mutual intelligibility. For the purposes of this study, a huge amount of lexical overlap was expected. Secondly, the differences between Kazakh and Kyrgyz present alternate advantages for determining which changes might have happened after Mongolic words entered Turkic and which happened before: e.g., Kazakh has merged *š with s, while Kyrgyz has not (Section 4.2.2), and Kyrgyz (like many Mongolic languages as well as other Turkic languages in contact with Mongolic) has acquired long vowels from lenition of intervocalic dorsals (Sections 4.2.4 and 4.2.5), while Kazakh has not.

44 Csáki, *Middle Mongolian Loan Words in Volga Kipchak Languages*.

45 The complete list of forms considered in this study, which continues to be a work in progress, is available at <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7753379>.

46 Nadiel'ájev et al., *Dr'evn'et'úrskij Slovár'*.

47 Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*.

48 Sievort'án, *Etimologičeskij solvár' t'úrskix jazykóv*: 1; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' t'úrskix jazykóv*: 2; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' t'úrskix jazykóv*: 3; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' t'úrskix jazykóv*: 4; L'evítskaja, Dybó and Rassádin, *Etimologičeskij solvár' t'úrskix jazykóv*: 5; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' t'úrskix jazykóv*: 6; Dybó, *Etimologičeskij solvár' t'úrskix jazykóv*: 7; idem, *Etimologičeskij solvár' t'úrskix jazykóv*: 9.

49 Zhu and Junast, *Ménggǔ yǔzú yǔyán cídiǎn*.

50 Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*; Sanžéjev, Orlóvskaja and Ševiernina, *Etimologičeskij slovár' mongólskix jazykóv, I: A–E*; idem, *Etimologičeskij slovár' mongólskix jazykóv, II: G–P*; idem, *Etimologičeskij slovár' mongólskix jazykóv, III: Q–Z*; Nugteren, *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai- Gansu Languages*.

51 Judáxin, *Qırğızça-orusça sözdük*; Munin, *Xal'mg-ors tol'*.

4 Findings

This section overviews the findings of this study along the lines of semantic domains attested in borrowed material (Section 4.1), the phonological properties of borrowings (Section 4.2), borrowings of bound morphemes (Section 4.3), the range of parts of speech borrowed (Section 4.4) and the number of borrowings (Section 4.5).

4.1 Semantic Domains

Many previous studies of Mongolic loanwords in Turkic are focused on single semantic domains or concern themselves with delineating the borrowings along the lines of semantic domains.⁵²

Indeed, the borrowing of words of certain semantic domains can allow for inference of a lot of detail about the nature of the language contact situation. For example, if many kinship terms were borrowed, that suggests that both languages were spoken in home situations and may even suggest that first-language speakers of the two languages were intermarrying. If borrowing is limited to certain types of technology, it does not imply an intense language contact situation, simply the exchange of technology. Likewise, if borrowings are limited to just legal and administrative terminology, it suggests that the language that originated those borrowings had legal and administrative dominance—i.e., that the speakers of the other were subordinated in that regard.

Table 1 shows some semantic domains represented by the borrowings identified in Kazakh and Kyrgyz in comparison to previous sources on Tuvan and Volga-area Turkic.⁵³

Table 1: Some of the semantic domains of Mongolic borrowings in Kazakh and Kyrgyz, as compared with Tuvan and Volga-area Turkic languages.

Domain	Tuvan	Kazakh/Kyrgyz	Tatar/Bashqort
horse breeding	✓	✓	✓
hunting & falconry	✓	✓	✓
kinship	✓	✓	✓
flora/fauna	✓	✓	✓
tools	✓	✓	✓

⁵² Sources of the first type include Taşbaş (“The Turkic Kinship System”; “Kinship Loanwords in the Turkic Languages”), Shamaeva and Prokopieva (“Mongolian Loanwords in the Figurative Words of the Yakut Language”) and Niéstiérova (“Mongólskije záimstvovanija v l’ěksike rybolóbstva jakútskogo jazyká”), while sources of the second type include Khabtagaeva (*Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*) and Csáki (*Middle Mongolian Loan Words in Volga Kipchak Languages*).

⁵³ Tuvan per Khabtagaeva (*Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*), Volga-area Turkic per Csáki (*Middle Mongolian Loan Words in Volga Kipchak Languages*).

Table 1 (continued)

Domain	Tuvan	Kazakh/Kyrgyz	Tatar/Bashqort
food & food prep	✓	✓	✓
body parts	✓	✓	✓
textile & fiber work	✓	✓	✗
law & politics	✓	✗	✗
military	✓	✗	✗
religion & folklore	✓	✗	✗

As an example of one of the categories, a number of Kazakh and Kyrgyz kinship terms and terms related to marriage are of Mongolic origin:⁵⁴

- abisun*^(kaz,kir) “wife of husband’s brother” ← *abisun*^(MMo) “id”,
baĵa^(kir), *baĵa*^(kar) “wife’s sister’s husband” ← *böle*^(WMo) “id”,
bölö^(kir), *böle*^(kaz) “child of mother’s sister”⁵⁵ ← *böle*^(WMo) “sister’s child”,
quda^(kaz,kir) “(usually male) relative of child’s spouse” ← *quda*^(WMo) “id”,
qudaġy^(kaz,kir) “(grand)mother of child’s spouse” ← *qudayai~qudayui*^(WMo) “id”,
zawşı^(kaz), *ĵuuču*^(kir) “young man’s parents or representative in match-making visit”
← *ĵayuči*^(WMo) “id”.

The fact that so many borrowings are related to marriage suggests intermarriage between Turkic speakers and Mongolic speakers. There are many forms this could take, discussed in Section 5.

Also lending strength to a model involving the integration of Mongolic speakers into Turkic-speaking families, the Turkic word for “give birth”, *tuu*^(kir) in Kyrgyz, was replaced with the Mongolic word *törö*^(kir) for humans, with the Turkic word relegated to animal births and in expressions such as *tuulġan kün*^(kir) “birthday”. Even the word for “family” in Kyrgyz, *üy bülö*^(kir), appears to be a partial borrowing from Mongolic, cf. *ger bül*^(khk) “id”.

In relation to falconry, there are no fewer than three words for falcons and hawks borrowed from Mongolic (the specific referents of these words and the distinctions between them likely require further attention),⁵⁶ and there is also a borrowed word for headgear used in falconry:

⁵⁴ The terms *aġa*^(kaz,kir), *ake*^(kir) “older brother, uncle” are likely also of Mongolic origin (cf. *aqqa*^(MMo) “older brother”, *aġa*^(MMo) “respected older male (relative)”, and the words *äze*^(kaz) “grandmother” and *eje*^(kir) “older sister” may also be (cf. *eji*^(MMo) “mother”, but also *eje*^(OTK) “older sister”).

⁵⁵ There may be regional variation in the meaning of this term in Kyrgyz.

⁵⁶ The word *sar*, *sar*^(kir) “kite, buzzard” may also be borrowed from Mongolic, cf. *sar*^(MMo) “harrier, buzzard”, but the borrowing in this case is at least as likely to have been from Turkic to Mongolic.

itelgi^(kir) “species of falcon” ← *itelgi*^(MMo) “id”,
qarşığa^(kaz), *qarçığa*^(kir) “goshawk” ← **qarçıya*^(MMo) “id”,
suñqar^(kaz), *šumqar/suñqar*^(kir) “hawk, falcon” ← **siñqor*^(MMo) “id”,⁵⁷
tomağa^(kaz), *tomoğo*^(kir) “falconry headgear” ← *tomuya*^(WMo) “id”.

The borrowing of this set of words from Mongolic into Kazakh and Kyrgyz suggests that Central Asian falconry culture may have originated in Mongolic-speaking communities, with vocabulary being borrowed along with the technology. It is possible, however, that Mongolic words simply displaced existing Turkic words. Other words from Mongolic related to hunting include *bötögö*^(kir) “bird innards”.

Regarding horse breeding and equestrian culture, words for different ages of livestock, including horses (e.g., *dönen*^(kaz), *dönezin*^(kaz), *qunan*^(kaz,kir), *qunañın ~qunayın*^(kir)); words for equine coat colors (e.g., *jeerde*^(kir), *čabdar*^(kir), *küröñ*^(kir), *börtö*^(kir)),⁵⁸ the words *noqta*^(kaz)/*noqto*^(kir) “halter”, *toqum*^(kir) “saddle cloth” and *qanjiğa*^(kir) “game strap”; the word *kökül*^(kir) “forelock”; and the general word for “mounted livestock” (*unaa*^(kir), later coming to mean “transport” more generally) were all borrowed from Mongolic into Kazakh and Kyrgyz.⁵⁹ Other words of Mongolic origin related to livestock include *bodo mal*^(kir) “heavy livestock” and *iñgen*^(kir) “mature female camel”.

Regarding textile and fiber work, the words *šibege*^(kir) “awl” (also used in the compound *ilme šibege*^(kir) “crochet hook”), *širi*^(kir) “quilt (v.)”, *širdaq*^(kir) “felt rug”, *oymo*^(kir) “stitched pattern”, *temene*^(kir) “sackcloth (or any large) needle” and *širi*^(kir) “a type of leather” all made their way to Kazakh and/or Kyrgyz from Mongolic. It should be noted that these technologies are relatively relegated to home and family settings, and traditionally belong to the domain of women, which again suggests a situation where Mongolic words entered Turkic via the incorporation of Mongolic speakers into Turkic-speaking society.

4.2 Phonological Properties

The phonological properties of Mongolic loanwords into Kazakh and Kyrgyz are examined in this section. Discussed specifically are Mongolic sound changes not attested (Section 4.2.1) and attested (Section 4.2.2) in the borrowed material, as well as the NW Turkic sound changes missed (Section 4.2.3) and attested (Section 4.2.4) in this material. The specific issue of intervocalic dorsals is explored (Section 4.2.5), as well as the effect

⁵⁷ There is an early Turkic form of this word which may indicate a borrowing in either direction or a nondistinct word, but the initial š in Kyrgyz strongly suggests a Mongolic borrowing in this case.

⁵⁸ The coat color *qoñır*^(kaz), *qoñır*^(kir) appears to be a nondistinct Turkic-Mongolic word.

⁵⁹ The word *uquruq*^(kir) “lasso pole” = *uyurya*^(MMo), *uqruq*^(OTk) appears at first to be an nondistinct Turkic-Mongolic word, but further work on its history is needed.

the loanwords had and could have had but did not on the phonologies of Kazakh and Kyrgyz (Section 4.2.6). A few open questions are also examined (Section 4.2.7).

4.2.1 Mongolic Sound Changes Not Attested

A number of common Mongolic sound changes appear not to have been undergone by the examined Mongolic loans in Kazakh and Kyrgyz. As such, these words could not have been borrowed from a Mongolic variety that had undergone any one of these changes after they had taken place. Hence, when datable, these sound changes may be used to establish something of a *terminus ante quem* for the loans—but only if the words were borrowed from a variety where the changes later applied. However, not all Mongolic languages underwent all of these changes, and some “peripheral” Mongolic languages, like Monguor and Dongxiang (Santa) underwent few or none of them.

The following Mongolic sound changes, listed in rough chronological order, were missed in all of the loans examined in Kazakh and Kyrgyz:

apocope (final vowel deletion). Example:

qolomto^(kir) “hearth” ← *ʏolomta*^(MMo) “id” → *ʏolomt*^(khk) “id”;

vowel assimilation (“palatal breaking”). Examples:

čida^(kir) “put up with” ← *čida*^(MMo) “be able to” → *čad*^(khk) “be able to”;

ʃırğa^(kir) “revel” ← *ʃırya*^(MMo) “id” → *ʃary*^(khk) “id”;

frication of K (*q* and *k*). Examples:

šilekey^(kir) “saliva” ← **silükei*^(MMo) “saliva, slobbering” → *šülx̥i*^(khk) “slobbery”;

čuqul^(kir) “urgent” ← *čuqul*^(MMo) “important” → *čuxl*^(khk) “important”;

depalatalization. Examples:

ʃolbun^(kir) “stray” ← *ʃolbin*^(MMo) “id” → *dzolbiŋ*^(khk) “id”, *zolbiŋ*^(bxx) “id”;

čoqu^(kir) “temple, summit” ← *čoqu*^(MMo) “temple” → *tsox*^(khk) “top of forehead”;

final n velarization. Examples:

ʃolbun^(kir) “stray” ← *ʃolbin*^(MMo) “id” → *dzolbiŋ*^(khk) “id”, *zolbiŋ*^(bxx) “id”;

deaffrication. Example:

čičırqanaq^(kir) “sea buckthorn” ← **čičäryana*^(MMo) “id” → *šäsaryana*^(bxx) “id”;

ʃolbun^(kir) “stray” ← *ʃolbin*^(MMo) “id” → *zolbiŋ*^(bxx) “id”;

debuccalization. Example:

sööm^(kir) “span” ← **sögüm/sögem*^(MMo) “id” → *hööm*^(bua) “id”;

shift of *Vi* diphthongs. Examples:

maṇday^(kaz,kir) “forehead” ← *maṇlai*^(MMo) “id” → *maṇlæ*^(khk),

ayıl^(kir) “village” ← *ayıl*^(MMo) “settlement” → *ææl~æel*^(khk) “id”, *ææl*^(xal) “id”;

palatal fronting of back vowels. Examples:

tāqum^(kaz,kir) “kneepit” ← *tākim*^(WMo) “id” → *tæxⁱm*^(khk) “id”, *tækm*^(xal).

Some of these sound changes attested in Mongolic have been dated.

Depalatalization is discussed by Ramstedt and Kałużyński as occurring or beginning no earlier than the fourteenth century CE in Khalkha, Buryat and Kalmyk.⁶⁰ More precise measures include Kara,⁶¹ who places depalatalization in Kalmyk and Khalkha around the late seventeenth century, and Clark who claims that depalatalization occurred in Buryat after the 1620s but before the 1680s to the 1720s.⁶² Depalatalization is widely attested in Mongolic languages (outside of Southern Mongolic) as well as in some Turkic languages.

Deaffrication is claimed by Kara to have affected Buryat by the seventeenth century,⁶³ and Clark suggests that it occurred in two stages during the period of the 1680s to the 1720s.⁶⁴ Deaffrication is attested in many Mongolic and Turkic languages.

Kazakh is among the Turkic languages where deaffrication (cf. *zālǵa*^(kaz) “connect, join; extend; continue” ← *ǵalya*^(MMo) “id”) and depalatalization (*sunqar*^(kaz) “falcon” ← *sinqor*^(late MMo) “id”) are attested. However, the details of these changes are different in Kazakh than in most Mongolic languages that underwent them (cf. *ǵaly*^(khk) “connect; etc.”, which underwent depalatalization but not deaffrication, and *şonxr*^(khk) “falcon”, which did not undergo depalatalization, all contrary to the fate of these stems in Kazakh),⁶⁵ and the two sound changes affected the entire lexicon of Kazakh, not just Mongolic loans. These facts taken together suggest that Mongolic depalatalization and deaffrication had not occurred in Mongolic loanwords when they were borrowed into the ancestor of Kazakh. Deaffrication and depalatalization did not occur in Kyrgyz, and the Mongolic loanwords in Kyrgyz do not exhibit them either, making it clear that these changes had not occurred yet before the words were borrowed into the ancestor of Kyrgyz.

⁶⁰ Ramstedt, *Einführung in die Altaische Sprachwissenschaft*; Kałużyński, “Mongolische Elemente in der Jakutischen Sprache.”

⁶¹ György Kara, personal communication, 2009-10-12.

⁶² Clark, “A Problem in Buryat Historical Linguistics.”

⁶³ György Kara, personal communication, 2009-10-12.

⁶⁴ Clark, “A Problem in Buryat Historical Linguistics.”

⁶⁵ Although the details are different, the occurrence of deaffrication and depalatalization, along with debuccalization, throughout a contiguous region of Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic languages suggests that the changes spread by way of contact between these languages.

4.2.2 Mongolic Sound Changes Attested

While many Mongolic sound changes are not attested in loanwords into Kazakh and Kyrgyz, a couple Mongolic sound changes are attested in these loanwords, although not with complete consistency.

The first of these sound changes is palatalization, whereby an *s became š before *i*. This sound change cannot be detected in Kazakh because in Kazakh all š sounds were historically depalatalized to s, resulting in neutralization (see Section 4.2.4 for more on this).

palatalization (variable). Examples:

- šibege*^(kir) “awl” ← **sibüge*^(MMo) “id” → *šöwg*^(khk) “id”,
šilekey^(kir) “saliva” ← *silükei*^(MMo) “saliva, slobbering” → *šülxi*^(khk) “slobbery”,
šır-^(kir) “stitch, quilt” ← **siri-*^(MMo) “id” → *šir-*^(khk) “id”,
šyraq^(kir) “shank” ← *sigira*^(MMo) “hoof” → *šir*^(khk) “shank”,
šüüdürüm^(kir) “dew” ← *sigüderi*^(MMo) “id” → *šüüdr*^(khk) “id”.

This palatalization is one of the earliest sound changes attested in these loanwords, with reference to the reconstruction of Proto-Mongolic. Clark claims only that it occurred at some point before the period of the 1660s to the 1720s,⁶⁶ while Kara locates the change more specifically in the thirteenth into the fourteenth century CE.⁶⁷ This change is attested throughout Mongolic languages.

However, a handful of Mongolic loanwords in Kyrgyz seem to have avoided palatalization.

unexpected lack of palatalization. Examples:

- sırqoo*^(kir) “illness” ← *sırqa*^(MMo) “wound” → *šarx*^(khk) “injury, wound”,
sülöösün^(kir) “lynx” ← *silegüsün*^(MMo) “lynx” → *šilüs*^(khk) “id”.

In *sülöösün*^(kir), it is possible that the rounding of the first vowel (discussed in Section 4.2.4) blocked palatalization (i.e., the s was no longer in an environment, such as before *i*, where palatalization would have been triggered), but this would mean that a Turkic-specific change preceded a Mongolic change. Given that this Mongolic change is early, it might be possible that the community where this borrowing occurred was bilingual when both of these changes occurred, allowing for both of the changes to affect a single word. However, this rule ordering does not seem to have applied to *šüüdürüm*^(kir), where palatalization did take place despite the anticipatory rounding, and the explanation does not work for

⁶⁶ Clark, “A Problem in Buryat Historical Linguistics.”

⁶⁷ György Kara, personal communication, 2009-10-14.

sirqoo^(kir). Another explanation might be that the words where palatalization did not occur were borrowed earlier, before palatalization took place in Mongolic. Alternatively, palatalization may have been spreading by way of lexical diffusion when the words were being borrowed, in which case some words had not been targeted by the change yet. Further work is needed on this question.

vowel reduction (sporadic). Examples:

belterge^(MMo) “wolf cub” → *böltürük*^(kir) “id”,
qural^(MMo) “get-together” → *qurultay*^(kir) “convention”,
sigüderi^(MMo) “dew” → *šüüdürüm*^(kir) “id”,
soqar^(MMo) “blind” → *soqur*^(kir) “id”.

The identified vowel reduction may be due to inadequate reconstructions of the Mongolic material. For example, the reconstruction **soqar*^(MMo) is based on comparative evidence,⁶⁸ but some sources reconstruct **soqur*,⁶⁹ which corresponds to the Kyrgyz form.

There are also words that have the “reverse” pattern, where the borrowed form has a nonhigh vowel instead of a Mongolic high vowel, such as *šibege*^(kir) “awl” ← **sibüge*^(PMo) “id” *šilekey*^(kir) “saliva” ← **silükei*^(PMo) “saliva, slobbering” and *tomaya*^(kaz), *tomoyo*^(kir) “hawk headgear” ← *tomuya*^(MMo).⁷⁰ As discussed by Nugteren,⁷¹ however, there is evidence for reconstructing **siböge*^(MMo) and **silökei*^(MMo) with a nonhigh vowel, which in the former case may even have secondary rounding, from earlier ***sibege*. The form of the Kyrgyz borrowing may be additional evidence of this and would hence suggest a particularly early borrowing.

4.2.3 NW Turkic Sound Changes Missed

One sound change specific to NW Turkic that appears not to have affected Mongolic loanwords is post-vocalic **d* lenition, which involved the change of Proto-Turkic **d* to the glide *y* after vowels.

post-vocalic **d* lenition. Examples of occurrence by position, with analogous Mongolic loanwords where it did not occur:

⁶⁸ See e.g. Nugteren, *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages*, 500.

⁶⁹ Sanžéjev, Orlóvskaia and Ševérnina, *Etimologičeskij slovar' mongólskix jazykóv*, III: Q–Z.

⁷⁰ Reconstructions per *ibid.*, 108, 114.

⁷¹ Nugteren, *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages*, 66, 118, 132, 494, 496.

intervocalic: *ayaq*^(kaz,kir) “foot, leg” ← **hadaq*^(PTk) “id”,

cf. *saadaq*^(kir), *sadaq*^(kaz) “quiver” ← *sayaday*^(WMo) “id”;

syllable-final: *quyruq*^(kaz), *quyruq*^(kir) “tail” ← **qudruq*^(PTk) “id”

(no comparable pattern identified in material from Mongolic);

word-final: *boy*^(kaz,kir) “stature” ← **bod*^(PTk) “id”,

cf. *qıtar*^(kir) “black paint” ← *kitaq*^(WMo) “Chinese”.

This sound change affected NW, SW and SE Turkic languages, as well as Southern Altay (sometimes, but not always, considered a NW language), but did not affect Yeniseian, Sayan or Lena Turkic, nor Chuvash or Halaj. In Yeniseian Turkic the reflex of post-vocalic **d* is *z*, in Lena Turkic the reflex is *t*, both assumed to have gone through a stage of *ð*, with an additional *θ* stage in Lena Turkic.⁷² The existence of *ð* as the primary realization of this phoneme is discussed (and argued) by Clauson, Erdal and Johanson to have already been present in the earliest attested inscriptions of the eighth century CE,⁷³ with clear orthographic differentiation from *d* in scripts attested not much later. The change to *y*, almost certainly via *ð*, starts to be attested in materials from the eleventh century CE, and becomes more widely attested into the thirteenth century CE and beyond.

The fact that this change did not apply to the Mongolic material borrowed into Kazakh and Kyrgyz means that the change must have occurred before the loanwords were borrowed. This is not surprising given the increasing prevalence of the change in Turkic languages by the thirteenth century CE. As discussed throughout, it is likely that the majority of Mongolic material was borrowed into the predecessor(s) of Kazakh and Kyrgyz around or not long after the thirteenth century CE. The finding regarding these loans missing the **d* → *y* change supports this conclusion.⁷⁴

Another NW-Turkic sound change missed is the lenition of syllable-final **ğ*. In most NW Turkic languages, including Kazakh, the reflex is *w*, and in Kyrgyz and Southern Altay it coalesced with a preceding vowel. In loanwords of Mongolic origin, syllable-final *y* instead ended up as a voiceless stop.

syllable-final **G* lenition. Examples:

after *u*: *buw*^(kaz), *buu*^(kir) “steam” ← **buuğ*^(PTk) “id”,

cf. *qudıq*^(kaz), *quduq*^(kir) “well” ← *quduy*^(MMo) “id”;

⁷² Anderson, “Historical Aspects of Yakut (Saxa) Phonology.”

⁷³ Clauson (“The Turkish Y and Related Sounds”), Erdal (*A Grammar of Old Turkic*, §2.23) and Johanson (*Turkic*, §18.5.2).

⁷⁴ It might also be possible that the Turkic language into which loans with *d* entered borrowed them with *d*, while native Turkic words still had *ð*, not yet having changed to *y*.

after *a*: *taw*^(kaz), *too*^(kir) “mountain” ← **taa*_g^(PTk) “id”,

cf. *maqta*^(kaz,kir) “praise” ← *mayta*^(MMo) “id”.

Again, the fact that this change did not affect loanwords from Mongolic suggests that the change had taken place already in the predecessor(s) of Kazakh and Kyrgyz by the time the words were borrowed.

4.2.4 NW Turkic Sound Changes Attested

Quite a few NW-Turkic-specific sound changes are attested in the Mongolic loanwords in Kazakh and Kyrgyz.

Second-syllable reduction (variable). Examples:

asara^(MMo) “look after” → *asira*^(kir) “bring up”,

čabidar^(MMo) “skewbald” → *čabdar*^(kir) “id”,

sirideg^(MMo) “quilted mattress” → *širdaq*^(kir) “quilted felt rug”.⁷⁵

This process affects vowels of the second syllable of three-syllable words, and is attested sporadically in Central Asian Turkic languages. Something similar appears to still be somewhat active in at least some varieties of Uyghur,⁷⁶ and is thought to be responsible for the irregular plural *baldar*^(kaz,kir) “children” of *bala*^(kaz,kir) “child”. However, as in Kazakh and Kyrgyz more generally, this process does not consistently appear in the history of these Mongolic loanwords. In the forms in this study that exhibit something like second-syllable reduction, the process appears in inconsistent ways (either vowel reduction or full deletion of vowels).

Glide fortition. Example:

yada^(MMo) “be unable to” → *zada*^(kaz) “be exhausted”, *jada*^(kir) “be fed up with”.

In glide fortition, **y* changed to an obstruent word-initially, *z* in Kazakh and *j* in Kyrgyz. This occurred in many NW Turkic languages, Bolgaric Turkic and nearly all Siberian Turkic languages. In most modern Bolgaric and Siberian Turkic languages this has further devoiced, e.g., to *č*, *ε* or *s*. In Mongolic loanwords in Kazakh and Kyrgyz, this change resulted in the merger of word-initial Mongolic *y* and *j*.

⁷⁵ This form additionally appears at first glance to exhibit sporadic backing, although there is evidence that the verb this form is derived from is an originally back-vowel stem that instead fronted in Mongolic (Nugteren, *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages*, 493).

⁷⁶ Yakup, *The Turfan Dialect of Uyghur*, §2.3.1.2.

Desonorization. Examples:

maŋlai^(MMo) “forehead” → *maŋday*^(kaz,kir) “id”,

taŋlai^(MMo) “soft palate” → *taŋday*^(kaz,kir) “id”.

Desonorization is a process attested throughout Siberian and NW Turkic languages, whereby a syllable-initial sonorant decreases in sonority, usually to avoid rising sonority across a syllable boundary.⁷⁷ In Turkic languages where it is productive in the morphology it does not always affect roots. Interestingly, only two forms in the entire set of words examined appear to have this process attested—and only these forms even have an environment where it would be expected. It is possible that rising sonority across syllable boundaries is rare in Mongolic words generally; if this is the case, then perhaps Turkic desonorization patterns are the result of Turkic languages trying to fit more Mongol-like phonotactics. Alternatively, due to Turkic phonotactics, words with sonority rises at syllable boundaries may have been avoided as possible loanwords. More research is needed in this area.

Deaffrication (Kazakh). Examples:

čida^(MMo) “be able to” → *šida*^(kaz) “put up with”,

baĵa^(MMo) “wife’s sister’s husband” → *baʒa*^(kaz) “id”.

Deaffrication resulted in all affricates in Kazakh becoming fricatives. More specifically, *č → š and *ĵ → ʒ. In some varieties of Kazakh, these fricatives reaffricated word-initially. It is possible to say that this is a separate affrication process and not word-initial affricates being excluded from the deaffrication process, because of forms like *šaytan* “shaitan” (borrowed from Arabic, pronounced [čaytan] in these varieties). Similar deaffrication processes have occurred in various Turkic and Mongolic languages, and appear to be areally clustered. This change is likely to be relatively recent in Kazakh, so it is not surprising that all the Mongolic loanwords. Depalatalization appears to have preceded deaffrication, given that the input of the former is also an output of the latter.

Depalatalization (Kazakh). Examples:

šinqor^(late MMo) “hawk, falcon” → *sunqar*^(kaz) “id”,

širi^(late MMo) “leather” → *siri*^(kaz) “id”.

Depalatalization affected the entire Kazakh lexicon by changing all *š to s. It did not affect other palatals. Like deaffrication, it appears to be an areal change, and also a fairly recent one in Kazakh, so it is not unexpected that it affects all the Mongolic loanwords.

Various other diachronic and synchronic sound patterns of Kazakh and Kyrgyz (and their predecessor(s)) have affected Mongolic loanwords. When synchronic sound

77 Washington, “Sonority-Based Affix Unfaithfulness in Turkic Languages.”

patterns affect loanwords at the time they are borrowed, this can be thought of as the loanwords being adapted to fit a language's phonology, as opposed to simply undergoing a sound change.

For example, loanwords were adapted to Kazakh and Kyrgyz phonologies by fitting words into the rounding harmony patterns of Kazakh and Kyrgyz; e.g., *šinqor*^(MMo) “hawk, falcon” was adapted to Turkic patterns by rounding the first vowel and unrounding the second vowel (perhaps through underspecification) as *sunqar*^(kaz), *šumqar*^(kir) “id”; *sibüge*^(MMo) “awl” was adapted with entirely unrounded vowels as *šibegē*^(kir) “id” (although see discussion in Section 4.2.2); and *silegüsün*^(MMo) “lynx” was adapted to Kyrgyz as *sülöösün*^(kir) “id” with all rounded vowels, and to Kazakh as *silewsin*^(kaz) with all unrounded vowels, the difference here probably being due to how the *VGV* sequence was handled (for which see below and Section 4.2.5). Here, the *VGV* sequence resulted in a long rounded vowel in Kyrgyz, which led to all the vowels in the word rounding; in Kazakh, *VGV* sequence resulted in an unrounded vowel and a glide *w*, and in Kazakh usually only the first vowel of a word or a high vowel before a *w* may be round.

Another NW Turkic sound change found in these borrowings is intervocalic *G* (*g* and *ǵ*) elision, which is born out differently in Kazakh and Kyrgyz. In Kazakh, the result often involves the creation of the glide *w*, as in *zalqaw*^(kaz) “lazy” ← *jalqayu*^(MMo) “id”. In Kyrgyz, the result is usually a long vowel, as in *jalqoo*^(kir) “id”. Note that Central Mongolic languages have similar outcomes to Kyrgyz, although not all the time; cf. *dzalxu*^(khk) “id” versus *una*^(khk) “transport”, compared to Kyrgyz *unaa*^(kir) “id” (where the *u* and *a* in Khalkha are historically long vowels). Other words with similar outcomes in Kyrgyz and Khalkha include *beeli*^(khk) “glove, mitten” and *meeley*^(kir) “id”, as well as *šüüdr*^(khk) “dew” and *šüüdürüm*^(kir) “id”. An additional example where they are not the same is *bülen*^(khk) “warm (of liquids)” and *melüün*^(kir) “warm (of air)”.

4.2.5 Intervocalic Dorsals

The reflexes of intervocalic dorsals in Kyrgyz are apparently inconsistent. For reconstructed Mongolic **VGV* (front **VgV* and back **VɣV*) and **VKV* (front **Vkv* and back **VqV*) sequences, there are a variety of outcomes, which are in many cases unexpected. The expected reflexes of **VKV* are either *VKV* (preserved) or *VGV* (lenited), depending on whether Kyrgyz lenition occurred before or after the borrowing took place. The expected reflexes of **VGV* are either *VGV* (preserved), *V*: (deleted / fully lenited), or *Vy* (partially lenited), also depending on whether Kyrgyz lenition occurred before or after the borrowing took place.

However, as seen in Table 2, several unexpected patterns are witnessed: some **VGV* sequences are realized in Kyrgyz as *VKV* (all of which are *aqā*), and other **VGV* sequences are realized as short vowels. There is also a fairly wide distribution of most potentially expected options.

Table 2: The outcome of Mongolic intervocalic dorsals *VKV and *VGV in Kyrgyz words of Mongolic origin.

Kyrgyz Outcome	Mongolic *VKV	Mongolic *VGV
→ VKV	<i>bükülü</i> “all” <i>čoqu</i> “top (of mountain, head)” <i>čuqu</i> “urgent” <i>kömököy</i> “uvula” <i>kökül</i> “forelock” <i>moqo-</i> “become blunt” <i>nökör</i> “khan’s servant” <i>soqur</i> “blind” <i>šilekey</i> “saliva” <i>toqu-</i> “saddle (v.)” <i>toqum</i> “saddle cloth”	<i>alaqan</i> “palm” <i>baqan</i> “support pole” <i>malaqay</i> “fur hat”
→ VGV		<i>bosoğō</i> “threshold” <i>bötögō</i> “bird innards” <i>čağan</i> “month name” <i>qanǵa</i> “game strap” <i>qarağa</i> “larch” <i>qarčiğa</i> “falcon” <i>qudaǵıy</i> “co-mother-in-law” <i>soloğō</i> “left-handed” <i>šibege</i> “awl” <i>šibağa</i> “lot” <i>tegerek/tögörök</i> “circle” <i>tomoğō</i> “hawk headgear”
→ Vy		<i>čöyčök</i> “bowl” <i>öydō</i> “upwards”
→ V		<i>anqoo</i> “simple-minded” <i>buuday</i> “wheat” <i>buurul</i> “grey” <i>jalqoo</i> “lazy” <i>jasool</i> “executive” <i>jeerde</i> “chestnut (coat color)” <i>juuču</i> “young man’s representative at match-making visit” <i>örgöö</i> “khan’s yurt” <i>meeley</i> “glove, mitten” <i>melüün</i> “warm (of air)” <i>oboo</i> “cairn” <i>qaalga</i> “yurt door” <i>qarool</i> “guard” <i>saadaq</i> “quiver” <i>saqoo</i> “stutterer” <i>sööm</i> “span” <i>sülöösun</i> “lynx”

Table 2 (continued)

Kyrgyz Outcome	Mongolic *VKV	Mongolic *VGV
		<i>šüüdürüm</i> “dew” <i>unaa</i> “transport”
→ V		<i>eǰigey</i> “dried cheese” <i>čilbir</i> “rein” <i>dolono</i> “hawthorn”

The reason for this distribution is not immediately clear. One possibility is that the reconstructions assumed in this study (based on the sources described in Section 3.4) are not accurate reconstructions or are not consistently reconstructed for a single period. Other possibilities include that there is periodized borrowing, before and after lenition processes took place, or that some borrowing was mediated through other languages (such as other Turkic languages). It is also possible that the state of Mongolian reconstruction is not sufficiently well understood to account for these forms. A number of sources have examined Mongolic *VGV and *VKV in some depth,⁷⁸ the issues discussed in these sources have not been fully considered in this study. Whatever the cause for the unexpected reflexes, further investigation is called for.

It is interesting to note that even when the outcome is a long vowel in Kyrgyz, the result seems to vary; e.g., *ǰuuču*^(kir) “representative of young man at match-making visit” and *ǰalqoo*^(kir) “lazy” are both reconstructed in Mongolic with **ayu* (and both are realized in Kazakh with *aw*). It could be that the different outcomes represent borrowings at different periods, or that reconstructions need additional work.

4.2.6 Effect on Phonologies

Despite early Mongolic and Turkic phonologies not being drastically different, there were some differences. With the influx of Mongolic loanwords into Turkic, some of these differences ended up influencing the phonologies of these Turkic languages, and others could have but did not.

Some of the phonological differences found in these loanwords that did affect Turkic languages are the following:

initial d. No nonborrowed words (with one or two exceptions) in Kazakh and Kyrgyz start with *d*, but some words of Mongolic origin do. Examples:

⁷⁸ Poppe, “On the Velar Stops in Intervocalic Position in Mongolian”; Janhunen, “Laryngeals and Pseudolaryngeals in Mongolic: Problems of Phonological Interpretation”; Rykin, “Reflexes of the *VgV and *VxV Groups in the Mongol Vocabulary of the Sino-Mongol Glossary *Dada yu/Beilu yiyu* (Late 16th–Early 17th Cent.)”; Janhunen, “Medial Intervocalic **k* and **g* in Mongolic.”

düley^(kaz), *dülöy*^(kir) “deaf” ← *dülel*^(MMo) “id”,

dönen^(kaz), *dönön*^(kir) “three- or four-year-old male livestock” ← *dönen*^(MMo) “four-year-old male livestock”.

initial š. No nonborrowed words in Kyrgyz start with š, but words of Mongolic origin which have undergone the palatalization process discussed in Section 4.2.2 do. Examples:

şırl^(kir) “stitch, quilt” ← *siri*^(MMo) “id”,

šilekey^(kir) “saliva” ← *silükei*^(MMo) “saliva, slobbering”.

initial n. No nonborrowed words (with one or two exceptions) in Kazakh and Kyrgyz start with *n*, but some words of Mongolic origin do. Examples:

nağası^(kaz) “male relative on mother’s side” ← *nayaču*^(MMo) “id”,

noqta^(kaz), *noqto*^(kir) “halter” ← *noyta*^(MMo) “id”.

The following phonological differences could have affected Turkic languages but did not:

initial g/ğ. No nonborrowed words in Kazakh or Kyrgyz begin with a voiced dorsal sound, but many Mongolic words do (although potentially voiceless unaspirated in Khalkha); borrowed words begin with a voiceless stop instead. Example:

qolomto^(kir) “hearth”, *qolamta*^(kaz) “hot cinders” ← *γolomto*^(MMo) “hearth” → *γolomt*^(khk) “hearth”.

syllable-final g/ğ. No nonborrowed words in Kazakh or Kyrgyz have a syllable-final voiced dorsal sound, but many Mongolic words do; borrowed words contain a voiceless stop instead. Examples:

quduγ^(MMo) “well” → *qudıq*^(kaz), *quduq*^(kir) “id”,

mayta^(MMo) “praise” → *maqta*^(kaz,kir) “id”.

vowel-harmony disharmonic stems. Nonborrowed stems in Turkic languages are internally “harmonic”, meaning they follow vowel-sequencing restrictions similar to the productive vowel harmony patterns of the language.⁷⁹ Early Mongolic, Kazakh and Kyrgyz all have different patterns in this regard. Mongolic words in Kazakh and Kyrgyz have been adapted to follow Kazakh and Kyrgyz patterns. Examples:

inay^(MMo) “favorite” → *inaq*^(kir) “close friend”,

kekül^(MMo) “forelock” → *kekil*^(kaz), *kökül*^(kir) “id”,

abisun^(MMo) “wife of husband’s brother” → *abısın*^(kaz,kir) “id”.

⁷⁹ Washington, “Vowel Harmony in Turkic languages.”

4.2.7 Open Questions

There are a number of open questions of phonological history related to Mongolic loanwords in Kazakh and Kyrgyz that require further investigation.

There are a few mysterious correspondences involving unexpected consonantal differences. Two examples are *ulut*^(kir)/*ult*^(kaz) “nation” ← *ulus*^(MMo) “id” (originally from Old Turkic *uluš* “id”) and *čimčl*^(kir)/*šimšl*^(kaz) “pinch” ← *čimki*^(MMo) “id”. It is possible that these are borrowings from specific later varieties, cf. *ulad*^(bua) “nation”. However, as discussed by Clark,⁸⁰ the alternation of *s~d* is already attested in the Middle Mongol period, so the apparent presence of this sound change does not mean that this is a late borrowing. It is also possible that the *k~č* alternation represents an internal change in NW Turkic. These questions require further investigation.

There are also some borrowings with what appear to be “extra” material, e.g. *čoǵuu*^(kir) “together” ← *čuy*^(MMo) “together”; *söömöy*^(kir) “index finger” ← *sögüm~sögem*^(MMo) “span”; *šyraq*^(kir) “shank” ← *sigira*^(MMo) “hoof”; *sırqoo*^(kir) “illness” ← *sırqa*^(MMo) “wound”; *talaq*^(kir) “steppe” ← *tala*^(MMo) “id”. These forms may represent sporadic morphological additions, but require additional investigation. A form that appears to have extra material is *šüüdürüm*^(kir) “dew” ← *sigüderi*^(MMo) “id”, but a final /m/ is attested in some Mongolic varieties, such as Yugur,⁸¹ so may be a retained archaism in these varieties and Kyrgyz.

One form examined in this study appears to be missing material in an unexpected way: *teben*^(kaz) “large, thick needle”, cf. *tebene*^(WMo) “id”. This looks like apocope of the type found throughout modern Central Mongolic varieties (cf. *tewn*^(khk) and *temn*^(xal)), but it may instead be indicative of the Kazakh form being of Turkic origin. Clauson attributes the word to a Turkic origin,⁸² Räsänen and Nugteren notice the presence of the word in both Turkic and Mongolic and treat it as a nondistinct word.⁸³ Regardless of the origin of the Kazakh word, it is likely that Kyrgyz *temene*^(kir) “id” is of Mongolic origin, as it would not have the final vowel if it were of Turkic origin. Another word that needs additional attention due to a similar issue is *böltirik*^(kaz), *böltürük*^(kir) “wolf cub”, cf. *belterge*^(MMo) “id”.

4.3 Morphological Borrowings

Morphological borrowings include the borrowing of individual morphemes, as well as calques (structural borrowing). This section considers both, beginning with structural borrowing.

⁸⁰ Clark, “Turkic Loanwords in Mongol, I: The Treatment of Non-initial S, Z, Š, Č,” 47–48.

⁸¹ Nugteren, “Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages,” 498.

⁸² Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, 507.

⁸³ Räsänen (*Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, 472), Nugteren (*Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages*, 515).

The past tense system of Kazakh and Kyrgyz (Table 3) is organized roughly like that of Khalkha (Table 4). When compared with the past tense systems of other Turkic languages (Table 5), it might be concluded that the organization of the past tense system of Kazakh and Kyrgyz (but not the actual morphemes) was borrowed from Mongolic.⁸⁴

Table 3: The past-tense system of Kazakh and Kyrgyz. First person singular forms for each category for the verb *ket*^(kaz,kir) “leave” are *kettim*^(kaz,kir), *ketippin*^(kaz)/*ketiptirmin*–*ketipmin*^(kir), *ketkenmin*^(kaz,kir) and *ketken ekenmin*^(kaz,kir). Third person forms for each are *ketti*^(kaz,kir), *ketipti*^(kaz)/*ketiptir*^(kir), *ketken*^(kaz,kir) and *ketken eken*^(kaz,kir).

	recent past	non-recent past
eyewitness	- <i>DI</i>	- <i>GAn</i>
evidential/mirative	-(<i>I</i>) <i>p</i> ^(kaz) /-(<i>I</i>) <i>p</i> (<i>tIr</i>) ^(kir)	- <i>GAn eken</i>

Table 4: The past-tense system of Khalkha. Example forms for the verb *yaw*- “go” are *yawla*/*yaww*, *yawje*, *yawsŋ* and *yawsŋ yum bain*.

	recent past	non-recent past
eyewitness	-/ <i>A</i> /- <i>w</i>	- <i>sŋ</i>
evidential/mirative	- <i>je</i>	- <i>sŋ yum bain</i>

Table 5: The past-tense system of Tatar, Turkish and Old Turkic. Example forms in Turkish of the verb *git*- “go” are *gitti* and *gitmiş*, and in Tatar of the verb *kit*- “leave” are *kitte* and *kitkän*.

	past
recent/eyewitness	- <i>DI</i>
non-recent/hearsay	- <i>mİS</i> ^(turOTk) /- <i>GAn</i> ^(tat)

While other Turkic languages have forms which are ambiguous between recentness and evidentiality (with recent and eyewitness linked), Kazakh and Kyrgyz appear to have separated these features. The use of -*GAn* in Kazakh and Kyrgyz parallels Khalkha’s use of -*sŋ*, just as *eken* in Kazakh and Kyrgyz is parallel to Khalkha’s *yum bain*. It should

⁸⁴ These tables are simplifications and there is much nuance not shown. For example, some forms labeled “recent past” have imitative uses (referring to change of state) and some forms labeled “non-recent past” have experiential uses (where the subject has experienced the event). Additionally, some “eyewitness” forms (-*DI*) are probably better labeled “confirmative”, per Straughn (“Evidentiality in Uzbek and Kazakh”), because events reported using these forms do not need to be directly witnessed, while others (-*GAn*) are better thought of as neutral with regard to confirmativity. Tatar also allows -*GAn ikän*, albeit with different morphotactics than Kazakh and Kyrgyz.

be noted that *eken* and *yum bain* are also used with nonovert copula constructions in these languages as well to express evidentiality and mirativity (as are *ikān* in Tatar and *imiš~(y)miš* in Turkish). Also, Kazakh and Kyrgyz, just like Khalkha, have entirely unrelated morphemes for eyewitness and evidential recent past. The evidential recent past in both Khalkha and Kazakh and Kyrgyz is formed around a converb suffix; in the case of Turkic, the construction historically derives from an *-(l)p* converb and the auxiliary *tur-*, which was attested in full in Chaghatay but is significantly reduced in Kyrgyz (where *tur-* has cliticized and its remnants are not always used in this construction) and especially Kazakh (where the remnants of *tur-* in this construction are only seen in the third-person agreement suffix). Negative forms are also parallel, with Khalkha *-güi* occurring after the past tense morphemes just like Kazakh and Kyrgyz *emes* and *joq*, contrasting with *-mA* in Old Turkic, Tatar and Turkish, used before past tense morphemes.

There appears to be one inflectional morpheme in Kyrgyz borrowed from Mongolic. The Kyrgyz past imperfect *-čU* (e.g., *maqtañčumun*^(kir) “I used to brag; I was bragging”) may be from the Middle Mongol past perfective(?) mirative *-jUGU(i)/-čUGU(i)*, which was reduced to *-ji/-či* in Written Mongolian.⁸⁵

A diminutive suffix in *-Kay/- (n)AKAy* appears to have been borrowed into Kyrgyz and to some extent Kazakh. The suffix seems to have been borrowed independently of any words it occurs with, as it seems to only be attested with Turkic stems. Examples include *jaqšinaqay*^(kir) “nice”, cf. *jaqšt*^(kir) “good”; *kičinekey*^(kir) “small”, cf. *kičüü*^(kir) “small”; *tatınaqay*^(kir) “cute”, cf. *ta(t)tuu*^(kir) “sweet”; *jönököy*^(kir) “simple”, cf. *jön*^(kir) “simple”; *balaqay*^(kaz, kir) “child (dim.)”, cf. *bala*^(kaz, kir) “child”.

Kyrgyz appears to have borrowed a modal particle, *da*^(kir), from Mongolian. The use of this particle in Kyrgyz at the end of a sentence expresses that the information provided explains another matter that is present in the discourse but is assumed to already be known to the interlocutor. This is not identical in usage to Khalkha *dAA*^(khk) or Classical Mongolic *da*^(WMo) but is reminiscent of it.⁸⁶

In Kyrgyz the limiting word *ele*^(kir) “only, just” appears to have been borrowed from Mongolic *ele*^(MMo) “only”. This word is somewhat difficult to classify grammatically; it may be dependent on (and follow) a range of other word and phrase types: nouns (*bala ele*^(kir) “just a child”), adjectives (*kičinekey ele*^(kir) “not that big”), numbers (*eki ele*^(kir) “just two”), adverbs (*kečee ele*^(kir) “just yesterday”), and even adverbial and postpositional phrases (*üč kün ötköndön kiyin ele*^(kir) “after just three days passing”). It also appears to have interfered with past-tense forms of the defective copula: *ele*^(kir) “it was”, *elem*^(kir) “I was”, etc., cf. forms in other Turkic languages like *edi*, *edim*^(kaz).⁸⁷ The difficulty of categorizing this word results in it being described as a “particle”, making its presence in Kyrgyz less of a lexical borrowing and more of a grammatical borrowing.

⁸⁵ Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, 93.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁸⁷ Note Kyrgyz dialectal forms *ede*, *edem*. Another explanation of the standard Kyrgyz forms is borrowing of Mongolic past tense *-la*^(khk), equivalent to Kyrgyz *-DI*^(kir) as discussed above.

It is also possible that the verbal noun ending $-(I)w^{(kaz)}$, $-(U)U^{(kir)}$, attested throughout NW Turkic and beyond, may originate in Mongolic $-GU^{(WMo)}$,⁸⁸ although further work would be needed to make this determination.

4.4 Parts of Speech Borrowed

According to many sources,⁸⁹ while nearly any content may be borrowed from one language to another, some types of linguistic material are easier to borrow. Generally nouns and adjectives are considered the easiest to borrow, followed by verbs, then adverbs and then function words (like conjunctions, adpositions, interjections, numerals and pronouns). Finally, bound morphemes are considered the most difficult semantically specified material to borrow, with derivational morphology considered a little bit easier than inflectional morphology. Phonemes are supposed to be even more difficult to borrow from one language to another.

How difficult to borrow attested borrowed material is can yield information about the intensity of contact between the lending language and the borrowing language. This intensity is likely some combination of level of social interaction and how long it is sustained for.

In Tuvan, Mongolic material of every level of difficulty of borrowing examined is attested, save for inflectional morphology.⁹⁰ In Tatar and Bashqort, Mongolic-origin material is only attested among the easiest-to-borrow categories: nouns, adjectives and verbs, with some adverbial uses of borrowed adjectives (e.g., *alis*^(tat,bak) “far”).⁹¹ Table 6 summarizes the grammatical categories attested among Mongolic borrowings in these languages, as well as Kazakh and Kyrgyz.

Table 6: Parts of speech borrowed from Mongolic.

borrowing	Part of Speech	Tuvan	Kyrgyz	Kazakh	Tatar & Bashqort
“ease”					
1	nouns	✓	✓	✓	✓
1	adjectives	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	verbs	✓	✓	✓	✓
3	adverbs	✓	✓	✓	~
4	conjunctions	✓	×	×	×
4	postpositions	✓	×	×	×
4	particles	✓	✓	×	×
4	interjections	✓	✓	✓	×

⁸⁸ Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, 46.

⁸⁹ Cf. Hock, “Principles of Historical Linguistics.”

⁹⁰ Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*.

⁹¹ Csáki, *Middle Mongolian Loan Words in Volga Kipchak Languages*.

Table 6 (continued)

borrowing “ease”	Part of Speech	Tuvan	Kyrgyz	Kazakh	Tatar & Bashqort
4	numerals	✓	✗	✗	✗
4	pronouns	✓	✗	✗	✗
5	derivational morphology	✓	✓	✓	✗
6	inflectional morphology	✗	✓	✗	✗

As reflected in the table, Kazakh and Kyrgyz land in between Tuvan, and Tatar and Bashqort, with Kyrgyz borrowing both derivational and inflectional morphology, and many types of function words, and Kazakh having borrowed a limited number of function words and some derivational morphology. The fact that Kyrgyz appears to have borrowed inflectional morphology may suggest a situation more conducive to borrowing than Tuvan has historically had, although Tuvan has borrowed all types of function words examined here, while Kyrgyz has borrowed only a few, potentially due to a shorter period of contact with Mongolic.

4.5 Number of Borrowings

The number of borrowed items can be an important indicator of the level of contact between languages. Table 7 surveys the number of forms reported in previous studies of Mongolic loanwords in Turkic languages.

Table 7: The number of borrowings of Mongolic loanwords reported for various Turkic languages.

language	source	words
Karaim	Zajączkowski ⁹²	34
Karachay-Balkar	Csáki ⁹³	42 ⁹⁴
Tatar/Bashqort	Csáki ⁹⁵	136
Kazakh/Kyrgyz	present study	≥200
Sakha	Kałużyński ⁹⁶	several hundred
Tuvan	Khabtagaeva ⁹⁷	~1300

⁹² Zajączkowski, “Die Mongolischen Elemente in der Karaimischen Sprache.”

⁹³ Csáki, “Middle Mongolian Loan Verbs as They Appear in Karachay-Balkar.”

⁹⁴ This number includes only verbs, so the total is likely higher, probably around the same as Tatar and Bashqort.

⁹⁵ Csáki, *Middle Mongolian Loan Words in Volga Kipchak Languages*.

⁹⁶ Kałużyński, “Mongolische Elemente in der Jakutischen Sprache.”

⁹⁷ Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*.

Karaim has among the fewest, at thirty-four borrowings, while Tuvan has the most, at around 1300. Kazakh and Kyrgyz come in at a medium level of borrowings, at 200 or more identified in this study. It should be noted that this number excludes some words reported in previous studies because of some level of doubt in the literature that the words are of Mongolic origin (viz. *töle*-(kaz)/*tölö*-(kir) “pay”, cf. *töli*-(MMo) “id”; *qaraŋǵı*-(kaz,kir) “dark, darkness”, cf. *qaraŋyui*-(MMo) “id”).⁹⁸

5 Discussion

Discussion addresses the source variety of borrowed Mongolic material and timing of the borrowings (Section 5.1), the nature of the contact situation that resulted in borrowing (Section 5.2) and some differences between Kazakh and Kyrgyz in terms of borrowed material (Section 5.3).

5.1 Source Variety and Timing

The phonological forms of the Mongolic material identified in this study appear to mostly have only very early Mongolic sound changes attested, along with many preserved archaisms. Most forms are consistent with Middle Mongolic. A number of Turkic sound changes are attested in this material but, for the most part, only ones that are understood to have occurred before the thirteenth century CE.

A handful of loanwords do not fit these generalizations and may represent later borrowings, borrowings from different Mongolic varieties, or secondary borrowings (i.e., borrowed through another Turkic language).

Some sound changes, like intervocalic dorsal obstruent lenition, appear to have occurred shortly after the Mongol expansion in both Mongolic and Turkic languages and may have occurred in both families as a result of ongoing contact. Much later sound changes attested in both families (although with more different implementations across varieties), like deaffrication and depalatalization, may be evidence of ongoing contact several centuries after the Mongol expansion.

Taken together, all of this suggests that the majority of the loanwords examined in this study entered the linguistic predecessor(s) of Kazakh and Kyrgyz during and/or shortly after the Mongol expansion. Given the lack of more recent Mongolic sound changes in the Kazakh and Kyrgyz material, it appears that very little borrowing, if any,

⁹⁸ Both examples discussed by Csáki (“Middle Mongolian Loan Verbs as They Appear in Karachay-Balkar,” 203–204, 118).

occurred during or after the Jungar expansion (seventeenth century),⁹⁹ or even after the fifteenth century or so—and most of it likely occurred well before then.

5.2 Contact Situation

The moderate impact of Mongolic languages on the lexicon and phonology of Kazakh and Kyrgyz suggests a period of sustained multilingualism. The fact that bound morphology was borrowed suggests language shift (in this case, Mongolic speakers acquiring Turkic and eventually abandoning Mongolic), either widespread or among influential individuals.

One might hypothesize that bilingualism in Mongolic among Turkic speakers, without many native Mongolic speakers also speaking Turkic, may have been prevalent in Turkic-speaking society for an extended period, during which borrowings occurred, and after which the impetus for bilingualism was lost. However, the wide range of semantic categories borrowed, and especially the presence of family- and home-relegated vocabulary, such as words for kinship by marriage and fiber-working technology, suggest a contact situation where Mongolic speakers were absorbed into otherwise Turkic-speaking families and/or where Mongolic-speaking families switched to speaking a Turkic language. If there had been bilingualism solely among Turkic speakers, then borrowings would have likely been limited to certain domains of life, such as public administration and military affairs. In fact, we find little evidence of Mongolic loanwords in these semantic domains in Kazakh and Kyrgyz, unlike in Tuvan.¹⁰⁰

Given all of this, and the timing, there are several possibilities that are worth considering regarding how this language contact occurred. One possibility is that Mongolic-speaking men (who had more mobility than women, and more power than their Turkic-speaking counterparts at the time, and may have had reason to be living in Turkic-speaking areas) took Turkic-speaking wives and settled in Turkic-speaking areas. Another possibility is that Turkic-speaking men, perhaps related to a deficit of men among the Mongolic-speaking population, took Mongolic-speaking wives and settled in Turkic-speaking areas. Either scenario requires the incorporation of Mongolic speakers into Turkic-speaking society. However, it seems likely that neither scenario is sufficient to explain either the extent of influence that Mongolic languages had on Kazakh and Kyrgyz nor the range of semantic domains borrowed from. Specifically, borrowings in domains under the traditional primary purview of both men and women are attested, and the tense system was affected. This suggests more extensive incorporation of Mongolic speakers into Turkic society than either scenario offers on its own. Instead, the

⁹⁹ Although see Saribáyev (“Mongól'sko-kazáxskije l'eksíčeskije paralléli”) for apparent exceptions to this generalization, especially in eastern dialects of Kazakh. Further investigation of such forms would be needed to understand when they were borrowed and from what variety.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*.

contact situation most likely involved large-scale incorporation of Mongolic-speaking families into Turkic communities, with extensive geographic overlap resulting in frequent (perhaps daily) contact, widespread intermarriage in both directions and the eventual total shift of Mongolic speakers to Turkic with a period of sustained bilingualism. Even in this setting, a certain amount of the borrowing must have taken place through the incorporation of Mongolic speakers (both men and women) into Turkic-speaking families and not simply through [social and linguistic] contact outside a home setting.

To my knowledge, the hypothesis that Mongolic adverbs entered Turkic languages through home settings as opposed to administrative or military settings is not commonly posited. This may be due to patriarchal views of Turkic and Mongolic society and history.

5.3 Differences Between Kazakh and Kyrgyz

Both Kazakh and Kyrgyz exhibit a significant Mongolic adstrate. However, the absence in Kazakh of a number of Mongolic borrowings that were identified in Kyrgyz is striking.

For example, there appear to be no Kazakh correspondents to *belen*^(kir) “ready”, *bürkök*^(kir) “overcast”, *čoġuu*^(kir) “together”, *jolbun*^(kir) “stray”, *öydö*^(kir) “upwards”, *qaalğa*^(kir) “yurt door”, *şuru*^(kir) “bead”, *şüüdürüm*^(kir) “dew”, *törö*^(kir) “be born”,¹⁰¹ *üy bülö*^(kir) “family”, the past imperfect *-čU*^(kir), etc. Kyrgyz has also acquired the Mongolic *ayıl*^(kir) “village, settlement” ← *ayıl*^(MMo) “id”, while Kazakh has retained the Turkic form *awıl*^(kaz), cf. *ağıl*^(OTk) “id”

However, Kazakh has borrowed words like *nağası*^(kaz) “male relative on mother’s side”, *dönezin*^(kaz) “three-year-old filly or heifer” and *qalaqay*^(kaz) “nettle” which are not attested in Kyrgyz.

It is possible that the smaller number of Mongolic borrowings identified in Kazakh is an effect of the author’s somewhat better knowledge of Kyrgyz and because the methodology of this study initially focused primarily on investigation of Kyrgyz words.

It should also be noted that there is extensive overlap between the Mongolic words present in Kazakh and Kyrgyz, and those identified by other sources in Chaghatay, Tatar and Bashqort and even Karachay-Balkar, despite the different scales of apparent borrowing. This suggests that these words entered Turkic together, and that the nature of the contact was large-scale and potentially even geographically expansive. It is difficult to tell whether languages like Sakha and Tuvan, with so many more borrowings and more prolonged contact with Mongolic, were affected by this same event, but with more

¹⁰¹ A similar form is attested in early Old Turkic, so there is a chance that this word is not borrowed from Mongolic; however, the vowels of the Kyrgyz form are more consistent with borrowing from a Mongolic form than descent from something like the Old Turkic form.

work it should be possible to sort out the extent of overlap and relative timing of overlapping borrowings.

6 Conclusion

Studies of loanwords always have the potential to add insight to the specifics and relative timing of various linguistic changes (especially sound changes which affect a lot of material) in both source and target language. Since the loanwords examined in this study are the result of borrowing events that occurred fairly early, study of this material has the potential to support arguments related to problems of Mongolic reconstruction, just as study of Chinese borrowings into Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese and other languages provides insight into the linguistic (especially phonological) history of both Chinese and the borrowing languages. As a specific example, the borrowed word *šibege*^(kir) provides evidence that the second vowel in Mongolic may have originally not been high and possibly also that it was unrounded.

Since the relative timing of many linguistic changes (especially sound changes) in Turkic and Mongolic languages during and since the period in question are already somewhat well understood, in part through attestation, nothing of much novelty along these lines was revealed through study of these loanwords—but open questions remain, for example, about intervocalic dorsals.

However, because of the relative lack of controversy surrounding the Turkic sound changes attested in Kazakh and Kyrgyz forms, we are able to say something more accurate about the approximate timing of the language contact situation(s). More specifically, we are able to determine from Mongolic loanwords into Kazakh and Kyrgyz that there was a contact situation that began around the thirteenth century at the earliest and ended no later than the fifteenth century.

And from examining semantic domains and considering the extent of influence from the lending language on the borrowing language(s), for example in areas like tense morphology, we also get a sense of the nature of the borrowing situation, including something of the cultural and social context that led to borrowing. The situation examined in this study appears to have involved the incorporation of many Mongolic speakers into Turkic-speaking society—and, importantly, households—with a period of widespread bilingualism.

It is my hope that this study is just the beginning of careful examination of Kazakh and Kyrgyz material of Mongolic origin, especially given that this study was not exhaustive in identifying material, nor did it answer all the questions raised. I expect that much more can be learned from the material presented here and other material that was not included in this study and/or has yet to be identified.

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Jamiyan Sharapovich Sanjanov

The Phonetic Method of Word Formation in the Sociopolitical Vocabulary of the Buryat Language (with Phonetics /h/ and /s/)

The preservation and development of the Buryat language poses an acute challenge.¹ A factor that accounts for this problem is a constant borrowing of vocabulary in general, and sociopolitical terms, from the Russian language.² Several approaches have been proposed to address this issue, ranging from the replacement of the standard dialect of the Buryat language to the publication of dictionaries in each dialect, which is attributed to the fact that Buryats know their respective dialects better than the literary Buryat language. These proposals however were opposed by the proponents of the existing literary language. Considering this, it has been proposed to preserve the Buryat language at least at the level of dialects, which in our view results from the crisis of the supra-dialectal approach to language development

In the history of the Buryat language, the supradialectal language development is associated with a written language based on the traditional (classic) Mongolian script.³ In modern Buryat studies, there is a prevailing view that the literary Buryat language created on the basis of the Mongolian writing of the first third of the 20th century is now outdated and archaic and no longer meets modern requirements.⁴ However, studies of the sociopolitical lexicon of the Buryat language in the 1920s–1930s challenge this view, suggesting that the literary Buryat language based on the Mongolian writing was sufficiently developed and met modern societal and linguistic requirements.⁵ More thorough research on the development of the literary Buryat language on the basis of the Mongolian writing, including its phonetic aspects, could therefore help us better understand key problems of the Buryat language, particularly concerning its dialects. Notably, the examination of the phonetic method of the word formation based on alternating h/s can contribute to addressing the issue of replacing the standard dialect while also facilitating the development of the language's modern sociopolitical vocabulary as, for example, in *honin* “news” and *sonin* “newspaper”, *han* “kazna” vs. *san* “fund”, etc.

Currently, the alternation of /h/ and /s/ is becoming particularly relevant as there is an urgent need to develop modern sociopolitical and socioeconomic terminology among the Buryat-speaking population of the Russian Federation. This way of word formation allows for: 1) expanding semantics of existing yet passive vocabulary (i.e.,

1 Dondukov, *O razvitii terminologii*, 132–138.

2 Kharanutova, Suseeva and Önörbayan, *Mongol'skoe slovoobrazovanie*, 2–15.

3 Tsybikov, *Mongol'skaia pis'mennost'*, 17.

4 Dondukov, *O razvitii terminologii*.

5 Sanzhanov, “Obshchestvenno-politichkaia.”

said “minister” < *haid* “official”); 2) restoring the terms that were part of active vocabulary before the 1930s; 3) and harmonizing the modern sociopolitical and socioeconomic vocabulary of the Buryats in Russia with the modern lexicon of those in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia (*han* “kazna” < *san* “fund”).

Historically the sociopolitical vocabulary in Buryat goes back to the Mongolian written language, which does not have the phoneme /h/. As such, until the end of the 1930s the Buryats did not use /h/ in their written language and did so only in the spoken language of some dialects.⁶ With the transition of the Buryat language to the Cyrillic alphabet in 1939, the phoneme /s/ began to be replaced with /h/ across the board, which was a phonetic variation of the phoneme /s/ in the spoken language. The mechanical replacement of /s/ with /h/ was considered not as a method of word formation in the lexicon of the modern written language but rather as a policy to bring it closer to the spoken Buryat language while departing from the traditional Mongolian writing and common Mongolian vocabulary. This policy was one of the main directions of the Buryat language construction in the 1930s.⁷ This was underpinned by the intention of the Soviet government to “create” a new ethnic group with its own language, thereby separating it from Mongolian. As noted by L. Shagdarov, “higher authorities demanded a shift toward one of the dialects of the Buryat language and the replacement of the old Mongolian alphabet”.⁸ However, the presence of substantial vocabulary with the phoneme /s/ required a theoretical justification. As a result, the alternation of /s/ and /h/ in the Buryat language was explained by researchers as a phonetic method of word formation.⁹

B. Vladimirtsov noted that in the written Mongolian language there is an alternation of phonemes in words that are phonetically different but semantically similar. He treated the alternation of only back and front vowels as phonetic word formation.¹⁰ According to T. Tsydendambaev, the phonetic method of word formation can be used in creating a new vocabulary, notably social and political, for example: *huid* “trouble” and *suid* “catastrophe”; *hakhyul* and *sakhyul* “guard”, etc. He noted that through this method that words acquire new meanings, emphasizing the need for the rational use of phonetic differences in Buryat dialects.¹¹

Studies by T. Bertagaev and U-Zh. Dondukov showed that the phonetic method had in fact existed prior to affixal word formation, and sinharmonism (vowel harmonization) in Mongolian languages.¹² Bertagaev indicated that the alternation of phonemes

6 *Tsêbêg-ün Buriad mongol-un nom bichig-ün khêlên-ü dürim.*

7 A. A. Darbeeva, “Osobennosti novoobrazovaniâ.”

8 L. D. Shagdarov, “Osnovnye vekhi Buriatskogo iazykoznaniiâ.”

9 T. B. Tsydendambaev, *Ob obshchestvennoi politicheskoi terminologii*; Bertagaev, *Leksika sovremennykh mongol'skikh literaturnykh iazykov*; Dondukov, *O razvitiï terminologii*.

10 B. Ia. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naia grammatika pis'mennogo mongol'skogo iazyka*.

11 Tsydendambaev.

12 Bertagaev, 269; Dondukov, *O razvitiï terminologii*, 14.

applies to consonants and root and affixal morphemes.¹³ Dondukov maintained that the phonetic method of word formation until the twentieth century was static and archaic and therefore completely unproductive, but in our view it can be rather useful in the formation of new vocabulary. He further emphasized that “word formation based on the alternation of sounds is one of the phonetic word formation types.”¹⁴ Comprehensive research is needed to examine this type of phonetic word formation in the Mongolian languages. The study of phonetic word formation generally contributes to an improved understanding of the history of word formation in the Mongolian languages, restoring the ancient roots of Mongolian words, and identifying the historical pattern in phonetic changes.¹⁵

The phonetic alternation of *h/s* became one of the main methods of word formation in the modern vocabulary of the Buryats in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia. That is, the replacement of */h/* with */s/* leads to the change of the word’s meaning and the creation of a new word (*utahan* “thread” < *utas* “telephone”; *hakhilga* “security”, “supervision” < *sakhilga* “discipline”; *hubag* “river channel” < *subag* “television channel”; etc.). An active use of alternating */h/* and */s/* is confirmed by the language practice of the Buryats in Inner Mongolia. Shenekhen Buryats (Buryats living in the Shenekhen area in Inner Mongolia) in their written language use only */s/* instead of */h/*.¹⁶ Despite this, in their spoken language, */h/* has been preserved and is widely used, especially in daily vocabulary.¹⁷ However, this does not mean that the phoneme */h/* should be completely replaced with */s/* in Buryat. The common words with */h/* should be preserved according to the established spelling and phonetic rules of the Buryat language (for example: *nahan* “age”, “life”; *halkhin* “wind”; *sahan* “snow”; etc.).

Regarding the creation of a new modern sociopolitical vocabulary through restoring its passive layer and modernizing historicisms (for example: modernizing *haid* “dignitary” as *said* “minister”), the subjective inclination to adhere only to */h/* can be considered as ignoring and limiting the scientifically grounded phonetic method of word formation of modern vocabulary (for example, *hurbazhalagsha* instead of *surbazhalagsha* “correspondent”; *hedeb* instead of *sedeb* “theme” (these words are written with */s/*).¹⁸

A considerable portion of vocabulary with the phoneme */s/* in Buryat is seen in the newspaper *Buryad-Mongoloy onen* of the 1920s–1930s. The restoration of this vocabulary with modern semantic meanings could address the lack of sociopolitical vocabulary, particularly in the media. The newspaper issues identified sociopolitical vocabulary with the phoneme */s/* which is not represented in the modern language of the

13 Bertagaev, 270–276.

14 Dondukov, *O razvitiĭ terminologii*, 14.

15 Dondukov, *O razvitiĭ terminologii*.

16 Sanzhanov, “Sovremennaiā obshchestvenno-politicheskaia leksika buriat Vnutrennei Mongolii.”

17 Pataeva, “Traditsionnaia kul’tura.”

18 Shagdarov and Cheremisov. *Buriad-orod toli*.”

Buryats in the Russian Federation. This vocabulary has clear definitions, which makes it easy to understand, for example:

n.-mo. *sayid*, Mong. *said*, Bur. *said* “minister”: *sayiduni udayansayataqu* “the minister stayed for a long time”.¹⁹ In the newspaper this word means “minister”. However, with the transition to the Cyrillic alphabet in the Buryat-Russian dictionaries of the Soviet period, the word *haid* means “dignitary”, which is seen as historicism and was hence moved to passive vocabulary. In the vocabulary of the Buryats in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, the word *haid*, due to phonetic differentiation, became *said* meaning “minister”. This word was widely used in the chronicles of Buryats in the nineteenth century.²⁰

- class.-mo. *elčīn sayid*, mong. *elchin said*, bur. *Elshen said* “ambassador”: *qolboyatu ulus-un elčīn sayid* “ambassador of the federal state”.²¹
- class.-mong *sanayačilya*, mong. *sanaachilga*, bur. *hanaashalga* “initiative”: *nam-un üryi-e bičig-ün qariu-du eb qamtu nam-un sanayačilya-yi ese jöbsiyen qariyučabai* “did not agree on the initiative of the communist party in response to the letter of the party unit”.²²
- class.-mong. *songuyuli*, Mong. *songguul*, Bur. *hinguuli* “elections”: *jöblel-üd-ün songyuli* “elections to the Soviets”.²³ Buryat also has the word *hungalta* “choice”. In Khalkha-Mongolian and the vocabulary of the Buryats in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia (Shenekhen Buryats), these words are semantically distinguished: *hinguuli* means “political elections” and *hungalta* means “choice”.
- class.-mong. *samayun*, Mong. *Samuun*, Bur. *hamuun* “riots”, “unrest”: *ejerkeg-ünbay-ildayanbaqubisyal-untemečelsamayun-ačayekemayudaysan* “greatly worsened due to the riots associated with aggressive battles”.²⁴
- class.-mong. *ündüsün qauli*, Mong. *Ondsen huul*, Bur. *yndehen huuli* “constitution”: *ündüsün qauli-yi jirumjilan küliyejü abuysayar edüge nige jil yurban doluyan qonoy ünggereged bayiqu* (it’s been one year and three weeks since the adoption of the constitution).²⁵ Since the late 1930s, this Buryat word has been replaced with the word “constitution”, but it is still widely used in Khalkha-Mongolian, as well as among Buryats in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia.
- class.-mong. *sanal*, Mong. *sanal* Bur. *hanal*, “proposal” of something: *jasay-un sanal küsel-i sayisayaysan* “approved the proposals and wishes of authorities”.²⁶ In Buryat, this word also means “opinion”. In the vocabulary of the Buryats in Mongo-

¹⁹ Jalagus-un nige, 5.

²⁰ Badmaeva, *ĪĀzykovoe prostranstvo buriātskogo letopisnogo teksta*.

²¹ Jochigchi Sigumjilel, 3.

²² Tsakilgan medege-nud, 1. .

²³ Batujab Sigumjilel, *Buryad-Mongoloi ünen*, 17 October 1923, 1. Nb asqz.

²⁴ Gombojab-un, 1.

²⁵ Teuketu edur, 1.

²⁶ *Buryad-Mongoloi ünen*, 7 December 1923, 2.

lia and Inner Mongolia (Shenekhen Buryats), the word *hanal* is often used to mean “suggestion”, whereas the word *bodol* is used to mean “opinion”.

- class.-mong. *suryayči*, Mong. *surgagch*, Bur. *hurgagsha*, “teacher”: *ajilčin-u qol-boyan-u dergede jayuburičin suryayči nar-un jöbleldegen-i bayiylaysan bayimui* “organized a meeting of instructors and teachers at the trade union”.²⁷
- class.-mong. *solilya*, Mong. *solilgo* Bur. *holilgo*, “exchange”: *14 qonoy-un quyučaya dotor küdüge ajiltan ba qota qoyar inu ed-ün solilya üyiledümüi* “rural workers and the city will conduct the exchange of goods within 14 days”.²⁸
- class.-mong. *kölüsün*, Mong. *huls*, drill. *hylhen*, “piecework wages”: *doyadu kölüsün-ü küdelmürčid* “workers with minimum wages”.²⁹ This word was used to mean “contractual, piecework payment for the performance of temporary hired work”. In the modern Buryat language, the word *salin* means “salary, wages”.
- n.-mo. *sonin*, Mong., Bur. *sonin* “newspaper”: *dumdatu ulus-un sonin* “Chinese newspaper”.³⁰
- class.-mong. *sang*, mong., Bur. *san*, “fund”: *degedü jakirugan-u üjemji-ber qayan-u sang arad-i müljikü* “at the discretion of higher administration, the tsar’s fund exploits the people”.³¹ In the vocabulary of the Buryats in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, the word *san* means “fund”.
- In the transition to the Cyrillic alphabet, the mechanical replacement of /s/ with /h/ did not affect only a small part of the sociopolitical vocabulary of Buryat, for example:
- class.-mong. *asayudal*, Mong. Bur. *asuudal*, “problem”, “question”: *gürün-ü bayidal-luyauridatanılčaysan ügei-ečejarimküdü asayudal-ud-unsidkebüriberketeibolqu-mayad* it may be hard to address difficult problems because the situation in the country wasn’t well examined beforehand.³² In Buryat, the word *asuulta* also means “question”. In Khalkha-Mongolian and the vocabulary of the Buryats in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia (Shenekhen Buryats), these words are semantically different: *asuudal* means “problem”, and *asuulta* means “question”.
- class.-mong. *jasay*, Mong., Bur. *zasag* “power”, “authority”: *jöbleltü jasay-un kereg üyile-yi 6 jil dotur-a jiyan kütelbürilejü bayiysan oros-un eb qamtu-yin nam-un kütel-büri* “program of the Communist Party of Russia, which guided the activities of the Soviet authority for 6 years”.³³ This word is often used in the phrase *törü jasay* meaning “power” or “state” as a social institution in Khalkha-Mongolian and the

²⁷ Gombojab-un, 5.

²⁸ Jochigchi Sigumjilel, 1.

²⁹ Gombojab-un, 3.

³⁰ Jochigchi Sigumjilel, 3.

³¹ *Buryad-Mongoloi ün*, 7 December 1923, 2.

³² *Buriyadmongol-un unen* 1923.12.04 №5, 1.

³³ *Buriyadmongol-un unen* 1923.12.04 № 10, 1.

vocabulary of the Buryats in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia (Shenehen Buryats), but less often in the language of the Buryats in the Russian Federation. However, it should be noted that *zasag* “power” was used even in *The Secret History of the Mongols*.³⁴

- class.-mong. *soyol*, Mong. Bur. *soel* “culture”: *qota-yin ködelmür činaradulas törü-yin kereg-tü bolbosuyulun mün erdem soyol-dur bolbasuraqu yabudal-i ulam-yiar kügjigülümüi*: “introduce urban workers to politics and even more to knowledge and culture”.³⁵

The value of creating or restoring the vocabulary with the phoneme /s/ instead of /h/ is further supported by the following fact. Some of the Buryats today who do not speak the Buryat language experience difficulties in pronouncing the phoneme /h/ which is often pronounced as the phoneme /kh/. For example, instead of *honin* “news”, some of these Buryats would say *khonin* “sheep”. This transition from *h* to *kh* as a phonetic pattern in the Mongolian languages was noted among Western Buryat dialects (Baikalo-Kudarinskii, Nizhneudinskii), as well as in the Old Bargut dialect. The transition *h* → *kh* led to the emergence of homonyms in these dialects, for example: lit. Bur. *hara*, Baikalo-Kudarinskii dialects, *khara* “moon” or “month”, lit. Bur. *khara* “black” lit. Bur. *hanaan*, Baikalo-Kudarinskii dialects. *khanaan* “thought”, etc. According to B. Matkheev, the transition of *h* → *kh* in Western Buryat dialects occurred due to the influence of the Russian language.³⁶ However, this view does not seem to be supported by the example of the Old Bargut dialect, which could not be influenced by the Russian language.³⁷ It seems that the phonetic regularity of the transition of phonemes /h/ > /kh/ in the dialects and languages occurs under the influence of a dominant language in which there is no phoneme /h/. This can be attributed to the difficulty of pronouncing the phoneme /h/ compared to the phoneme /kh/. It can be assumed that in the future. Because of this phonetic pattern, the phoneme /h/ in the Buryat language will be pronounced as the phoneme /kh/, as in the Western Buryat and Old Bargut dialects, leading to the emergence of many homonyms. Since the pronunciation of /h/ and /kh/ contradict the phonetic rules of the literary Buryat language, the formation of a new vocabulary and the use of passive vocabulary using /s/ instead of /h/ can be an optimal way to improve the teaching and learning of the Buryat language.

At the current stage of the development of the Buryat language, the alternation of the phonemes /h/ ~ /s/ can therefore be considered as a promising way of the word

34 B. Sum'iibaatar and B. Narangêrêl. *Mongolyn nuutts товчооны тол*. Pataeva, “Traditsionnaia kul'tura,” 453.

35 Sigumjilel, 2.

36 B. V. Matkheev, “O foneticheskoi differentsii buriatskikh dialektov Pribaikalia,” 57.

37 Rassadin, *Ocherki po istoricheskoi fonetike*, 79.

formation of sociopolitical vocabulary rather than as a mere mechanical replacement of phonemes. Moreover, it cannot be understood as an attempt to change the standard dialect of the Buryat language. In this regard, it is advisable to introduce the sociopolitical vocabulary formed through the phoneme /s/ to modern dictionaries.

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Bayarma Khabtagaeva

Remarks on Some Compound Verbs in Khalkha Mongolian

The present paper discusses a special category of verbal morphology in Khalkha: compound verbs.¹ There are several types of combinations of different word-classes (noun, adjective, verb) with verbs in Khalkha Mongolian. This paper deals with verbal compounds written as a single word, while syntactic verbal phrases are not considered.

1 Introduction

Currently, I am focusing on Mongolic historical morphology, a rather unexplored and neglected field of studies. My research aims at creating the first extensive morphological study of Mongolic languages. On this topic one paper is already published and two papers are in press.² All three papers are connected to Buryat language. The main task of my project is to find out if there is an affinity between certain lexical groups and specific word-forming suffixes. My first study on Mongolic colour names and their derivation showed the importance of the study of Mongolic historical morphology from a new point of view, i.e., the definition of derivation according to the functions of semantic groups.³

One of the most-important sources of my research on Mongolic color names was the classic work by Ilse Laude-Cirtautas (1961) in which she examined in detail color terms in Turkic languages.⁴ Despite the fact that the work was published sixty years ago, it still remains the best and the most-important publication for studies on color terms in Turkic languages. I am very pleased to present my modest contribution in memory of this remarkable scholar and professor.

1 I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Benjamin Brosig for his valuable comments.

2 Khabtagaeva, “The Buryat Body Parts Names: Face,” 617–632. Forthcoming publications include Khabtagaeva’s “On the History of Buryat Word Formation: Plant Names,” in *Mongolica Pragensia*; and “The ‘Heart’ in Buryat,” in *Embodiment in Cross-Linguistic Studies: The Heart*, (Brill), in coauthorship with Szeverényi, Sándor.

3 Khabtagaeva, “Colour Names and Their Suffixes,” 85–165.

4 Laude-Cirtautas, *Der Gebrauch der Farbezeichnungen*.

1.1 The Current Research

This paper is a part of my morphological research and concentrates on Khalkha – another Modern Mongolic language. During morphological and etymological analysis, a special group of compound verbs is investigated. Historically and etymologically, these verbs consist of two different lexemes, which form one single verb in Khalkha. Originally, the “head” or the second member of the compound is a verb, while the ‘dependent’ element can be a noun, an adverb, or a verb. This class of verbs has not been investigated properly, there are only brief mentions of them in various Khalkha grammars.⁵

In all, fifty-two compound verbs have been collected from Kara’s (1998) and Bawden’s (1997) dictionaries, as well as electronic sources (such as the Khalkha-Mongolian corpus).⁶

1.2 The Khalkha Language

The classification of Mongolic languages remains problematic to this day. There are several classifications according to geographic and linguistic considerations. Modern Mongol languages are divided into the central and peripheral groups.⁷

From the linguistic and historical perspectives, Khalkha, the official state language of the Republic of Mongolia, belongs to the central group of the Mongolic language family together with Ordos and other Mongol dialects/varieties of Mongolia (e.g. Khotogoit, Darkhat, Tsongol-Sartul and Dariganga) and Inner Mongolia (e.g. Chakhar, Khorchin, Kharachin, Baarin, Muumingan, etc.).⁸ The central group also includes Buryat with its dialects,⁹ as well as also Kalmuck and Oirat with their dialects.¹⁰

5 See respectively Street, *Khalkha Structure*, 82–83; and Janhunén, *Mongolian*, 146.

6 See respectively Kara, *Mongol–magyar szótár*; and Bawden, *Mongolian-English dictionary*.

7 The peripheral group of Mongolic languages consists of three subgroups. The speakers of the north-eastern subgroup are Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol people who mostly live in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia in China. The southeastern peripheral language subgroup includes Eastern Yughur (Shira Yughur), Mangghuer (earlier known as the Minhe dialect of Monguor) and Mongghul (earlier known as the Huzhu dialect of Monguor), Baoan (or Bonan) and Santa (or Dongxiang). All these languages (except Eastern Yughur) are also called as the Shirongol languages. All speakers of the southeastern subgroup live in the Qinghai-Gansu region in China. The speakers of the smallest Mongolic community, the Moghol people, live on the territory of Afghanistan, and their language belongs to the western subgroup (Khabtagaeva: forthcoming c).

8 See Janhunén, “Mongol Dialects,” 177–192; Svantesson, “Khalkha,” 2003; Svantesson et al, *The Phonology of Mongolian*, 140–143.

9 For more details and overviews, see Skribnik, “Buryat,” 102–128; Khabtagaeva, “The Buryat People and Their Language.”

10 For more details and overviews, see Birtalan, “Oirat,” 210–228; Bläsing, “Kalmuck,” 229–247.

As of 2010, the number of Khalkha speakers today is 2,168,141, which is 82.40% of the inhabitants of the Republic of Mongolia. Khalkha is rapidly becoming the second or the first language for other Mongolic speakers such as Buryat and Oirat.¹¹

Like all Mongolic languages, Khalkha is agglutinative. Stems and suffixes are subject to the rules of vowel harmony. Syntactically, sentences consist of hierarchically ordered chains of converbially linked clauses, and syntactic relationships are indicated by case endings.

2 Phrase Types

There are two main phrase types: nominal and verbal phrases.¹² It is important to differentiate *compound words* from *phrases*. The compound verbs examined in this paper were originally formed from verbal phrases.

Short overviews on phrase types in Khalkha are given in various Khalkha grammars (e.g. Todaeva, Street, Svantesson,¹³ etc.) Recently, an excellent overview of phrasal syntax in Mongol dialects was provided by Janhunen.¹⁴

¹¹ 2010 census, National Statistics Office of Mongolia.

¹² In the regular noun phrase most modifiers precede the head noun. The common types of modifiers include (a) adjectival nouns such as *xōx dewter* “a blue notebook”; (b) numerals such as *gurwan ödör* “three days”; (c) possessives marked with the genitive ending such as *bagš-in nom* {teacher-GEN book} “the teacher’s book”, *öglön-i xöl* {morning-GEN food} “breakfast”; (d) nouns with participial verbal forms such as *nise-x ongoc* {fly-PTCP.FUT ship} “plane, aircraft”, *tūx dzā-dag bagš* {history teach-PTCP. HAB teacher} “the teacher who teaches history”, *unta-j bai-gā oxin* {sleep-CVB.IMPRF be-PTCP.IMPRF girl} “a girl who is sleeping”, *öngör-sön jil* {pass-PTCP.PRF year} “last year”, etc;

Basic spatial relations are expressed by cases, but postpositions are used for more specific spatial relations and for other grammatical relations for which case forms are not available. In the postpositional phrase, the semantic head noun can appear in nominative, genitive and ablative cases. Examples are, for the nominative: *širēn dēr* {table on/on top of} “on the table”, *ger dotor* {house inside} “in the house”, *margāš xürtel* {tomorrow until} “until tomorrow”; genitive: *mongol-in tölō* {Mongolia-GEN for the sake of} “for the sake of Mongolia”, *ül-in xoino* {mountain-GEN behind} “behind the mountain”, *ger-in xajūd* {yurt-GEN by the side of} “next to the yurt/house”; ablative: *xičel-ēs gadna* {lesson-ABL besides} “besides the lessons/study”, *tūn-ēs xoiš* {that-ABL after} “after that”, etc.

The quantifier *bür* “every” also follows the head noun, e.g. *ödör bür* “every day”, *xün bür* “every person”.

¹³ See Todaeva, *Grammatika sovremennogo mongol'skogo jazyka*, 114–120; Street, *Khalkha structure*, 145–154; and Svantesson, “Khalkha,” 169–170.

¹⁴ Janhunen, *Mongolian*, 185–222.

2.1 Verbal Phrases

Special lexicalized and grammaticalized verbal phrases are formed with the modal (-*n*) and imperfective (-*ǰ*) converbs.¹⁵

- (a) The modal converb is mainly used to link two verbs into a compound-like combination, e.g. *güi-n ir-* {run-CVB.MOD come} “to come running”,¹⁶ *xülē-n aw-* {wait-CVB.MOD take} “to receive”, *batla-n dā-* {confirm-CVB.MOD insure} “to vouch”, etc.
- (b) The imperfective converb, which basically indicates simultaneous action, is often used with auxiliaries of the types *čad-* “to be able” (sentence i), *or-* “to enter”, *ir-* “to come” (sentence ii), *od-* “to go”, *yaw-* “to walk”, “to go” (directional), *aw-* “to take”, *ög-* “to give”, e.g. *güi-ǰ or-* {run-CVB.IMPRF enter} “to run into”, *nis-č od-* {fly-CVB.IMPRF go} “to fly off”, *xudalda-ǰ aw-* {trade-CVB.IMPRF take} “to buy”, *biči-ǰ aw-* {write-CVB.IMPRF take} “to write down”, *biči-ǰ ög-* {write-CVB.IMPRF give} “to write to other people”, *dzā-ǰ ög-* {show-CVB.IMPRF give} “to show”, *gar-č yaw-* {go.out-CVB.IMPRF go} “to leave”, *buca-ǰ yaw-* {return-CVB.IMPRF go} “to go back”, etc.¹⁷

- (1) *ta margāš ir-ǰ čad-ax ü?*
 2PL tomorrow come-CVB.IMPRF be.able-PTCP.FUT Q
 “Can you come tomorrow?”

- (2) *galt tereg cag-t-ā xür-ǰ ir-lē*
 train time-DAT.LOC-REFL reach-CVB.IMPRF come-CONF
 “The train arrived in time.”

The progressive construction with the auxiliary *bai-* “to be” is also based on this phrase type (sentences 3 and 4).¹⁸

- (3) *či yū xī-ǰ bai-na we?*
 2SG what do-CVB.IMPRF be-DUR Q
 ‘What are you doing?’ (present)

- (4) *borō exle-xe-d bi unta-ǰ bai-san.*
 rain start-PTCP.FUT-DAT.LOC 1SG sleep-CVB.IMPRF be-PTCP.PRF
 “When it started raining, I was sleeping.”

¹⁵ The Cyrillic orthographic forms of Khalkha and other Mongolic languages have been transcribed into Latin characters. I use the traditional transcription system, which is used in most publications. The letter *з* is marked by /dz/.

¹⁶ The abbreviations in the interlinear glosses follow, for the most part, the list of standard abbreviations available at <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>, accessed 03 2022.

¹⁷ For more examples, see Todaeva, 112–120.

¹⁸ For more examples with auxiliary verb, see Kullmann and Tserenpil, *Mongolian Grammar*, 195).

3 Compound Verbs

As mentioned earlier, the compound verbs originally formed from verbal phrases. Compound verbs can be divided into four groups. To illustrate the semantics of compound verbs, there are some example sentences collected from various sources: folklore texts and literary works retrieved from the Database of the *Mongolian National Corpus* (Khalkha corpus: online) and other online sources (i.e., daily newspapers and magazines found on the Internet). In addition, the presence of compound verbs was checked in Čeremisov's Buryat-Russian dictionary and Ramstedt's Kalmuck dictionary.¹⁹ (Buryat and Kalmuck represent other members of central group of Modern Mongol languages.) During my research I found that in most cases the compound verbs are absent in these languages, which proves their separate and independent development.

3.1 Khalkha Compound Verbs Formed From Noun Phrases

dūgar- / *dugar-* “to make a sound, to speak”,²⁰ cf. Buryat *dūgar-*;²¹ Kalmuck *dūy^ar-*.²²

~ Literary Mongolian *duuyar-* “to produce a sound; to sound, resound; to roll (as thunder)”

< *dayu* “sound, noise; voice; tone; musical sound; song”; and *yar-* “to go or come out, emerge, leave; to climb”,^{23, 24}

- (5) *tū-nd* *dūgar-ax* *tenxē* *bai-san-güi*.
 3SG-DAT.LOC speak-PTCP.FUT strength be-PTCP.PRF-NEG
 “He/she did not have the strength to speak.”

See also sentence (15).

cf. *dūgarga-* / *dugarga-* “to cause to make a sound”,²⁵ cf. Buryat *dūgarga-*;²⁶

~ Literary Mongolian *duuyarya-* “causative of *duuyar-*; to play (a musical instrument)”

< *dayu* “sound, noise; voice; tone; musical sound; song” and *yar-* “of physical motion from inside to outside or upward; to go or come out, emerge, leave” -GA- {CAUS};²⁷

¹⁹ Čeremisov, *Burjatsko-russkij slovar'*; Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*.

²⁰ Bawden 138a; Kara 158a.

²¹ Čeremisov, 205a.

²² Ramstedt, 104a.

²³ Literary Mongolian is the written language and it used as the “link” between the various languages, it plays an important role for Common Mongolic reconstructions.

²⁴ Lessing, 278a.

²⁵ Bawden, 138a; Kara, 158a.

²⁶ Čeremisov, 205a.

²⁷ Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, 278a.

ontus- / *ontud-* “to carry, to strike arrow”;²⁸ cf. Buryat *n.a.*;²⁹ Kalmuck *oṇdas-* ~ *ondas-*;³⁰

~ Literary Mongolian *ontus-* / *ontuis-* “to discharge an arrow into the air; to shoot into the air or over the target”;³¹

< *on* “mark, sign” and *tus-* “to hit upon, hit the target, strike upon, be hit by; to shine upon; to reflect; to be reflected; to fall to one’s share”;

öröwdö- “to pity, to feel sorry for, to take pity on; be compassionate”;³² cf. Buryat *ürbede-*;³³ Kalmuck *n.a.*;

~ Literary Mongolian *örübed-* “to [have] pity, be compassionate”

< *örü* “interior; heart; abdomen” and *ebed-* “to be taken ill, be sick; to hurt, feel pain”;³⁴

- (6) *nad-ad* *öröwd-öx* *ninjin setgeltei*
 1SG-DAT.LOC be.compassionate-PTCP.FUT kind beloved
xün *xereg-güi*.
 person need.to-NEG
 “I do not need a compassionate, beloved person.”

xüčimde- “to use force”;³⁵ cf. Buryat *n.a.*; Kalmuck *kütsmd³-*;³⁶

~ Literary Mongolian *küčümde-* “to use all of one’s strength; to use force or violence”;³⁷

< *küčü* “power, force, strength; effort; energy; validity”; and *mede-* “to know, understand, perceive, be conscious of; to find out; to be in charge of, have the power of decision”.

3.2 Khalkha Compound Verbs Formed From Adverbs

This group includes compound verbs where the first part or modifying element is the demonstrative or interrogative pronoun, while the second part or a “head” can be the

²⁸ Bawden 261a; Kara 328b.

²⁹ The abbreviation “*n.a.*” means that the form is not available, it may be present but not found in the considered dictionaries.

³⁰ Ramstedt, 287a.

³¹ Lessing, 615a.

³² Bawden, 279b; Kara 357b.

³³ Čeremisov, 509b.

³⁴ Lessing, 643b.

³⁵ Bawden, 484a; Kara, 631b.

³⁶ Ramstedt, 248b.

³⁷ Lessing, 496b.

equivalent of verbs *xī-* “to do” (Literary Mongolian *ki-*) or *oči-* “to go” (Literary Mongolian, *oči-*):

- inge-* “to do this, to act like this”,³⁸ cf. Buryat *īge-*;³⁹ Kalmuck *n.a.*;
- < Literary Mongolian *eyin* “so, thus, in this way or manner”; and *ki-* “to do, act”,⁴⁰ *tege-* “to do that, to do so, to act like that”,⁴¹ cf. Buryat *tīge-*;⁴² Kalmuck *tegə-*;⁴³
- < Literary Mongolian *teyin* “such, so this way, thus”; and *ki-* “to do, act”,⁴⁴ *xerx-* “to do how?”,⁴⁵ cf. Buryat; Kalmuck *n.a.*;
- < Literary Mongolian *ker* “How? In what way?”; and *ki-* “to do, act”,⁴⁶ *xāči-* “to go where?”,⁴⁷ cf. Buryat; Kalmuck *n.a.*;
- < Literary Mongolian *qamiya* / *qay-a* / *qa* “where”; and *oči-* “to go to place”,⁴⁸

- (7) *dza odō xāči-x we?*
 well now go.where-PTCP.FUT Q
 “Well, where are we going now?”

3.3 Khalkha Compound Verbs Formed From Verbal Phrases

awāči- “to take, to take away, to go off with; to act” (Bawden 2b; Kara 3b); cf. Buryat *abāša-*;⁴⁹ Kalmuck *n.a.*;

- ~ Literary Mongolian *abači-* ~ *abayači-* ~ *abuyači-* “to remove, take away with one, carry off”,⁵⁰
- < *abuyad oči-* < *ab-* “to take, grasp, get hold of” -*GAd* {CVB.PRF} *oči-* “to go to a place”;

- (8) *margāš bid tan-iig oros emneleg-t*
 tomorrow 1PL 2PL-ACC Russian hospital-DAT.LOC
awāči-x ge-j bai-gā šū dē.
 take-PTCP.FUT say-CVB.IMPF be-PTCP.IMPF EMPH.PART
 “Tomorrow we are going to take you to a Russian hospital.”

38 Bawden, 195a; Kara, 229a.

39 Čeremisov, 276b.

40 Lessing, 304a.

41 Bawden, 368b; Kara, 475a.

42 Čeremisov, 421b.

43 Ramstedt, 389b.

44 Lessing, 796b.

45 Bawden, 491a; Kara, 641b.

46 Lessing, 454b.

47 Bawden, 412b; Kara, 535b.

48 Lessing, 895a; 599b.

49 Čeremisov, 19a.

50 Lessing, 2b.

acra- / *awčra-* “to bring”,⁵¹ cf. Buryat *asar-*;⁵² Kalmuck *aptšir-*;⁵³

~ Literary Mongolian *ačara-*;⁵⁴

< *abču ire-* < *ab-* “to take, grasp, get hold of” -čU {CVB.IMPRF} *ire-* “to come, arrive, approach”;

- (9) *Exner-iin acar-san yum-iig buca-ǵ*
 wife-GEN bring-PTCP.PRF thing-ACC return-CVB.IMPRF
ög-nö.
 give-DUR-3SG
 “He will give back what (his) wife brought.”

ilčix- “to caress, stroke with one’s hand”,⁵⁵ cf. Buryat; Kalmuck *n.a.*;

< Literary Mongolian *ileǵü orki-* < *ile-* “to caress, stroke with one’s hand; to rub, massage” -ǵU {CVB.IMPRF} *orki-* “aux. verb expressing completion of action” (*n.a.*);

- (10) *Dzurgān nast-nūd xaǵūd ir-ēd xacar-Ø*
 six age-PL beside come-CVB.PRF cheek-ACC
ilčix-sen, xacr-ā nā-čix-san
 caress-PTCP.PRF cheek-ACC.REFL stick-VV-PTCP.PRF
dzogso-ǵ bai-dag.
 stand-CVB.IMPRF be-PTCP.HAB
 “(During first day) six-year-olds come up, caress and press their cheeks (to their first teacher) when they stay (in school).”

xūrščix- “to shatter”,⁵⁶ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

< Literary Mongolian *keürsijü orki-* < *keürsi-* “to get tainted from dampness; to rot from moisture; to become extremely thin” -ǵU {CVB.IMPRF} *orki-* “aux. verb expressing completion of action” (*n.a.*).

3.4 Compound Verbs Formed From Onomatopoeic Words

The largest group of compound verbs in Khalkha includes verbs formed from onomatopoeic words and Mongolic verb *ki-* “to do, act, perform” (Khalkha *xī-*), which also has

⁵¹ Bawden, 31a, 4b; Kara, 36b, 6b.

⁵² Čeremisov, 63a.

⁵³ Ramstedt, 12b.

⁵⁴ Lessing, 7b.

⁵⁵ Kara, 228a.

⁵⁶ Kara, 630a.

a function as ‘quasi-verbalizer’ added to nouns or adverbs.⁵⁷ The formation and use of onomatopoeic words in Khalkha were examined in detail by Oberfalzerová in 2010.⁵⁸ She not only presents the formation of words, but also provides an important material collected in fieldwork.

The list below contains this verb with various onomatopoeic words:

burdxī- “to flare up, to boil up”;⁵⁹ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

< Literary Mongolian **burd* and *ki*;

**burd* < *bur* “onomat. descriptive of boiling, bubbling, or gurgling”;⁶⁰

gyalsxī- “to flash”;⁶¹ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

~ Literary Mongolian *gilaski*- / *giluski*- “to flash, sparkle, shine”;⁶²

< *gilas* / *gilus* “with a flash” and *ki*- “to flash”;⁶³

- (11) *Mor'-toi xūn gyalsxī-gēd öngör-öw.*
 horse-POSS.C person flash-CVB.PRF pass-TERM
 “The man on the horse flashed past.”

dogdosxī- “to start, get frightened”;⁶⁴ cf. Buryat *n.a.*; Kalmuck *dogd's ke*-;⁶⁵ ~ Literary Mongolian, *doydoski*- “to start, get frightened”;⁶⁶

< **doydos* and *ki*;

< **doydo*; cf. **doydo*: *doydol*- (< **doydo* +*l*-) “to quiver, tremble, shiver, shake; to beat, throb, pulsate (of the heart); to be startled, frightened; to feel jolts, shock, concussions; to make repeated noises”, *doydolja*- (< **doydo* +*ljA*-) “to shake, tremble; to be startled, frightened”, etc.

dürdxī- “to jump up”;⁶⁷ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

~ Literary Mongolian *dürdki*- “to leap or jump up; to fly up”.⁶⁸

< **dürd* “onomat.” and *ki*;

jīwxī- “to feel a sting like an electric shock”;⁶⁹ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

< Literary Mongolian *jīb* “onomat.” and *ki*- (*n.a.*);

⁵⁷ Lessing, 462b.

⁵⁸ See Oberfalzerová, “The Use of Onomatopoeic Words in Spoken Mongolian.”

⁵⁹ Bawden, 68b.

⁶⁰ Lessing, 137b.

⁶¹ Bawden, 111b; Kara, 125b.

⁶² Lessing, 382a.

⁶³ Lessing, 382a.

⁶⁴ Kara, 143a.

⁶⁵ Ramstedt, 93a.

⁶⁶ Lessing, 256b.

⁶⁷ Bawden, 140b; Kara, 161b.

⁶⁸ Lessing, 282a.

⁶⁹ Kara, 179a.

- (12) *Yostoi jīwxī-sen saixan dēl bai-na.*
 really shock-PTCP.PRF beautiful Mongolian.gown be-DUR
 “It is a really beautiful gown!”

jīrsxī- “to flash past, to flit past”,⁷⁰ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

< Literary Mongolian *jīrs* < *jīr* “*onomat. adv.* twittering of a bird; chirping of a cricket; murmuring of a stream”,⁷¹ and *ki-*;

- (13) *Tawan xurūn-d bagta-xuic jīrsxī-sen*
 five finger-DAT.LOC be.contained.in-CVB flash.past-PTCP.PRF
xeden dursamj bī.
 few memory exist.
 “There are few annoying memories that can fit in five fingers.”

dzogxī- “to stop suddenly”,⁷² cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

< Literary Mongolian *joy* and *ki-* “to startle, stop suddenly”,⁷³

lagxī- “to slump, to go down heavily”,⁷⁴ cf. Buryat *n.a.*; Kalmuck *lag ge-*,⁷⁵

< Literary Mongolian *lay* “*onomat. adv.* movement or action with a sound suggestive of *lay*, i.e., a subdued, splashy sound, similar to English *plop*: the sound of frogs jumping into the water, also the boiling of thick liquids, etc.”,⁷⁶ and *ki-*;

- (14) *Ceden emč-in xaǰū-xan-d bai-san*
 Tseden doctor-GEN beside-DIM-DAT.LOC be-PTCP.PRF
urt dzōlōn sandal dēr lagxī-n
 long soft chair on slump-CVB.MOD
sū-n tus-lā.
 sit-CVB.MOD hit.upon-CONF
 “Tseden slumped into a long, soft chair next to the doctor.”

nirdxī- / nyardxī- “to rumble, grow”,⁷⁷ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

~ Literary Mongolian *nirdki-* “to make a cracking noise”,⁷⁸

< **nird* and *ki-*;

⁷⁰ Bawden, 158b; Kara, 182b.

⁷¹ Lessing, 1058b.

⁷² Kara, 201b.

⁷³ Lessing, 1067a.

⁷⁴ Bawden, 202b; Kara 238a.

⁷⁵ Ramstedt, 250b.

⁷⁶ Lessing, 514b.

⁷⁷ Kara, 288b.

⁷⁸ Lessing, 585a.

- (15) *Širē nyadxī-ǰ dūgara-w.*
 table rumble-CVB.IMPRF sound-TERM
 “The table rumbled.”

nirxī- “to crack, to roar, to thunder” (cf. above *nirdxī-* / *nyardxī-* “to rumble, grow”);⁷⁹ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;
 < Literary Mongolian **nir* and *ki-* (*n.a.*);

- (16) *Xü-mūs nirxī-tel inē-w.*
 person-PL roar-CVB.TERM laugh-TERM
 “The people loudly laughed.”

padxī- “to click, clatter”;⁸⁰ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *pad ge-*;⁸¹
 < Literary Mongolian *pad* and *ki-* “to make a cracking sound”;⁸²

- (17) *Čingetel č padxī-x xüčit dūn gurwan-tā*
 even.so clatter-PTCP.FUT powerful song three-MULTIPL
gara-x-dā zewūn čimē-tei xög xorš-jě.
 go.out-PTCP.FUT nasty noise-POSS.C tune combine-RESULT
 “However, when the powerful song was sung three times, it was accompanied by a nasty noise.”

pürdxī- “to hiss, to split”;⁸³ cf. Buryat *pürd ge-*;⁸⁴ Kalmuck *pürt ge-*;⁸⁵
 < Literary Mongolian **pürd* and *ki-* (*n.a.*);
sarxī- “to bang, to make a bang”;⁸⁶ cf. Buryat *sar sar ge-* “to crunch”;⁸⁷ Kalmuck *n.a.*;
 < Literary Mongolian *sar* “onomat. description of rustling, patterning of falling drops, crunching of snow, sand, pebbles under foot or crisp things being chewed”;⁸⁸ and *ki-*;

⁷⁹ Bawden, 235b; Kara, 288b.

⁸⁰ Kara, 362b.

⁸¹ Čeremisov, 369b; Ramstedt, 305a.

⁸² Lessing, 648a.

⁸³ Bawden, 285b; Kara, 366a.

⁸⁴ Čeremisov, 374b.

⁸⁵ Ramstedt, 307a.

⁸⁶ Bawden, 298a; Kara, 383a.

⁸⁷ Čeremisov, 385a.

⁸⁸ Lessing, 674a.

- (18) *Ger orn-ō bodo-ǰ edzn-ē*
 house country-ACC.REFL think-CVB.IMPRF owner-ACC.REFL
mörödö-n saixan xōl dzūdel-ǰ bai-tal
 miss-CVB.MOD beautiful food dream-CVB.IMPRF be-CVB.TERM
sūr sarxī-x čimē gar-č
 splendour bang-PTCP.FUT sound go.out-CVB.IMPRF
noxoi-g cočō-n serē-w.
 dog-GEN startle-CVB.MOD awaken-TERM
 “While I was thinking about my home and dreaming of a good meal, I was startled by a loud noise and the dog woke me up.”

sewxī- “to blow gently; to let up (rain); to have a bit of a rest, to take a spell; to happen suddenly”;⁸⁹ cf. Buryat *n.a.*; Kalmuck *sewge-*;⁹⁰

< Literary Mongolian **seb* and *ki-* (*n.a.*); cf. *seb ge-* “to calm down”;⁹¹

- (19) *Širūn borōn-i tenger-t solongo tata-ǰ*
 heavy rain-GEN sky-DAT.LOC rainbow pull-CVB.IMPRF
bai-xa-d sewxī-x salxi-güi anxilam
 be-PTCP.FUT-DAT.LOC blow.gently-PTCP.FUT wind-NEG fragrant
agār-t alxa-ǰ ir-ēd bič-sen
 air-DAT.LOC walk-CVB.IMPRF come-CVB.PRF write-PTCP.PRF
šū.
 EMPH
 “I wrote it while walking in the fragrant air without the breeze while the rainbow was drawn in the sky after the heavy rain.”

serdxī- “to jump, to start, to get a shock”;⁹² cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

< Literary Mongolian, **serd* and *ki-* (*n.a.*);

- (20) *Gal tümr-īn gamšig toxiold-son-d mongol-čūd*
 fire-GEN disaster happen-PTCP.PRF-DAT.LOC Mongolian-PL
ixē-xen serdxī-sen.
 very-DIM get.shock-PTCP.PRF
 “Mongolians were shocked very much by the fire.”

⁸⁹ Bawden, 316b; Kara, 406a.

⁹⁰ Ramstedt, 327b.

⁹¹ Lessing, 678b.

⁹² Bawden, 319b; Kara, 410a.

uxasxī- “to jump, to jump up, to give a start, to jump to it, to dart forward”;⁹³ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

~ Literary Mongolian, *uquski-* “to dash forward, jump up from one’s place; to attack”
 < *uqus* and *ki-*;⁹⁴

- (21) *Odō zügēr, nada-d č xot rü*
 now all right 2SG-DAT.LOC PART town DIR
čīn’ uxasxī-x čadal alga.
 POSS.2SG jump.to-PTCP.FUT ability not
 “It is alright now, I cannot go to the city either.”

xirdxī- “to get a shock, to be shocked, to be startled”;⁹⁵ cf. Buryat *xird ge-*;⁹⁶ Kalmuck *kirt ge-*;⁹⁷

~ Literary Mongolian, *kirdki-* “to shudder with fear, be terror-stricken”;⁹⁸ < **kird* and *ki-*;

- (22) *Bold xirdxī-sen bolo-wč, ai-san*
 personal name be.shocked-PTCP.PRF be-CVB.CONC fear-PTCP.PRF
baidal garga-lgüi.
 condition take.out-NEG
 “Bold shuddered but did not show fear.”

čacasxī- “to start up in alarm, to wake up with a start”;⁹⁹ cf. Buryat, Kalmuck *n.a.*;

~ Literary Mongolian *čičaski-* “to start, move suddenly”;¹⁰⁰ < **čičas* and *ki-*.

4 Conclusion

The aim of the present paper has been to examine a special category of verbal morphology in Khalkha, i.e., compound verbs, which originally were derived from verbal phrases and are in orthography written as a single word. Morphologically, the “head” of the compound is a verb, while the “dependent” element can be a noun, adverb or verb. In all, thirty various compound verbs have been collected from Kara’s and Bawden’s

⁹³ Bawden, 394a; Kara, 511a.

⁹⁴ Lessing, 893a.

⁹⁵ Bawden, 441a; Kara, 574a.

⁹⁶ Čeremisov, 572b.

⁹⁷ Ramstedt, 232b.

⁹⁸ Lessing, 471b.

⁹⁹ Kara, 681b.

¹⁰⁰ Lessing, 175b.

Khalkha-Mongolian dictionaries. To illustrate the semantics of compound verbs, thirty-four example sentences have been collected from various electronic sources such as the Khalkha-Mongolian corpus, daily newspapers and magazines found on the Internet.

The material shows that the most compound verbs were formed from onomatopoeic words with the verb *xī*- “to do, act”, and a few cases were formed from noun and verbal phrases, and pronouns. In many cases the compound verbs already developed in Literary Mongolian, however, it is important to note that it is the written language. The development of compound verbs in Khalkha Mongolian started before 1940-s when the Mongolian script (i.e., Literary Mongolian) was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet.

All data were also checked in Buryat and Kalmuck – other members of the central group of Modern Mongol languages. The comparative analysis shows that the verbal compounds are mostly typical for Khalkha, whereas Buryat and Kalmuck have fewer cases. This fact proves the independent process in Khalkha and its later chronological development. Data from other peripheral Mongolic languages were not collected. It would be important to compare data with other Mongolic languages too in a future study.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
CAUS	causative
COND.PART	conditional particle
CONF	confirmative
CVB.FIN	converb final
CVB.IMPF	converb imperfective
CVB.MOD	converb modal
CVB.PRF	converb perfective
CVB.TERM	converb terminative
DAT.LOC	dative-locative case
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directive
DUR	durative
EMPH.PART	emphatic particle
GEN	genitive case
INSTR	instrumental case
NEG	negative
PART	particle
PL	plural
POSS.	possessive
POSS.C	possessive case (comitative case)

PRESCR	prescriptive
PTCP.FUT	participle futuritive
PTCP.HAB	participle habitive
PTCP.IMPRF	participle imperfective
PTCP.PRF	participle perfective
Q	question particle
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
TERM	terminative

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R. Charles Weller

The Contributions of Ilse Laude-Cirtautas to *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood*

My title for this chapter honoring the work and memory of the late Professor Ilse Laude-Cirtautas (1926–2019) is an intentional play on the title of my 2006 book, *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood: A Challenge to Prevailing Western Views*, because it was through that book that I eventually had the great pleasure of meeting Ilse apa (as I will respectfully refer to her herein, just as I did in first meeting and talking with her). Our paths came to cross because she featured the book in her Central Asian Studies Seminar at the University of Washington in both the winter and spring quarters of 2011. Her inclusion of it in the winter session was prompted by the recommendation of one of her graduate students at the time, Alva Robinson, now one of the coeditors of this tribute volume. She nonetheless clearly appreciated and commended the volume herself, including it again in the spring. Apart from one main critically constructive suggestion (see below), her overall critique of the work was generally positive.¹ She thus invited the author to speak on “Ethnicity, Language, and Politics in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan” at the University of Washington for the Central/Inner Asian Studies Seminar in May 2013, jointly hosted by the Jackson School of International Studies, and then again a few weeks later in order to present a review of recent scholarship on Kazakhstan at the 25th Annual Nicholas Poppe Symposium.

To be clear here, my framing of the chapter’s title as a play on my book title is not intended to mean, primarily, the contributions which Ilse apa made to the book, but rather her own direct, authentic contributions to the task of rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian nationhood, especially within Western scholarship. This includes her interest in and support for the work, but that only comprised a very small measure of her otherwise vast contributions to that task, which long preceded and far outreached any I (and many others) might yet hope to make. That precedence and reach eventually embraced and helped guide mine, with both of us sharing, not by any means identical, but nonetheless significantly overlapping and mutually reinforcing perspectives and approaches, centered on and grounded in national-language sources and their deeper historical streams. That is the essential argument which this chapter demonstrates by weaving together select, illustrative threads sewn around her review of and response to the book which served to bring us together.

Ilse apa’s review of *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood* set her apart, in fact, from a good many other Central Asian scholars within Western academia who

¹ Alva Robinson, personal correspondence to R. Charles Weller, October 17, 2019.

had, for the most part, simply ignored or even dismissed the book entirely in published review, albeit by way of rather serious misrepresentation of its actual arguments.² It put her much more in line with the Foreword and accompanying review statements and endorsements by a number of reputable Kazakh scholars that were included in its opening pages. Like them, she was able to look beyond the book's admitted trivial idiosyncrasies. She quite possibly, in fact, from her own deep acquaintance with Central Asian national-language sources, even recognized in some of those idiosyncrasies an intended likeness to certain distinctives of Central Asian national-language scholarship, which Western and even some Central Asian scholars working from a primarily Russian-language base viewed through more critical, even Eurocentric eyes.

Regardless of how she may have viewed the book's idiosyncrasies though, she looked beyond them to the deeper heart and substance of the vital issues which it raised, including, as per its subtitle, its unique historiographical and theoretical *Challenge to Prevailing Western Views*, grounded in the Kazakh national-language scholarship upon which it primarily drew. Ilse apa's valuation of the book's grounding in Kazakh language sources and related perspectives, as well as its endorsement by Kazakh scholars, was highlighted by the fact that among the four total books which she featured for review in each of her Winter and Spring 2011 Central Asian Studies Seminars respectively, the other three were all written by Central Asian national authors in Central Asian national languages.

Ilse apa, like her Kazakh counterparts, appreciated, among other points, the contribution that the book made to historiographical debates over modernist-constructivist notions of Central Asian nationhood in close connection to national language, culture and other historically grounded identity issues. She thus correctly highlighted in her abstract for the winter 2011 seminar program that "the author challenges the notion, held by many Western and Russian scholars, that the Kazakh, Uzbek and other Central Asians' concept of ethnic and political nationhood 'are "imagined" or "invented" constructs of the Russians which have no real connection with their former historical iden-

2 Mohira Suyarkulova, "Review Essay," 395–399. Any well-trained and experienced scholar who gives Suyarkulova's review a careful reading over against a careful reading of *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood* should be able to see rather clearly the ways in which she misinterpreted and misrepresented almost every point which she subjected to criticism. Cirtautas, as one of those trained scholars, considered the review unfair; so did the book review editor for Central Asian Survey at the time, Nick Megoran, though he rightfully and commendably published it out of sheer commitment to academic freedom after several rounds of revision. I agree it is, for the most part, "water under the bridge" at this point, and certainly inconsequential to my own career; but there is no good reason for not addressing the issues raised by the debate as one still relevant to Central Asian studies, especially given the Kazakh scholars who originally did and recently again have endorsed the (Kazakh version of the) work. I may still eventually answer the review in the second revised edition, if, *Quday qalasa* (God willing), I am ever able to get around to it; *köre jatarmız* (we'll see). Meanwhile, Ilse apa's support for the book remains one of the most important correctives and, even in and of itself, a quite sufficient one.

tities.” She made clear in private correspondence with Alva Robinson that this was not simply the viewpoint of the author but her own as well (see below).

From as far back as her first work on *The Use of Terms of Colors in the Turkic Dialects* in 1961, down to her 1984 publications on *Uzbek Fairy Tales: Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent* and “Questions of Manas Research: The Epic in Research and Singing among the Kazakhs” (1984), and beyond,³ one of Ilse apa’s main contributions to Central Asian studies was, of course, in the intersection of the Turkic national languages to their histories, cultures and national identities. In between those works, she published studies on “Blessings and Curses in Kazakh and in Kirghiz” (1974), “Preliminary Notes on Taboo and Euphemism in Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Uzbek” (1976), “the Development of Literary Uzbek in the Last Fifty Years” (1977), “Necessitative and Related Forms in the Turkic Languages” (1978), “the Introductory Formulas in the Fairy Tales and Epics of the Mongols and the Turkish People of Central Asia” (1983), and more.⁴

Historiographically, her work on “The Development of Literary Uzbek in the Last Fifty Years,” i.e., 1920s–1970s, is particularly noteworthy. In it she looked with Central Asian national eyes at the May-1929 decision at “a conference in Samarkand” to adopt, “as a basis for the new literary language” of the Uzbeks, “a Kipchak Uzbek” as opposed to a more “Iranicized” (i.e., Tadjik-influenced) dialect from among the various options considered. She thus asked, in a strongly suggestive rhetorical manner:

Could it be that the century-old conflict between city, symbolizing all that is not Turkic, and the steppe (countryside), where Turks as nomads have their roots, was here decided in favor of a ‘return to the steppes,’ i.e., a reinforcement of national values?

She had noted just prior that “Tadjik (Persian) speakers” made up “the indigenous sedentary population of Uzbekistan before the arrival of the nomadic Turks beginning with the sixth century A.D.,” with the Tadjiks “generally inhabit[ing] the city areas” and the nomadic Turkic ancestors of the Uzbeks the more rural. Relatedly, their choices were shaped by the lines of “Iranization” running between “the Qarluq dialects”, which “went almost along the border of the former Khanates (Emirates) of Bukhara and Kokand”, making “old rivalries” an important factor in their decision. Though divided at times over which precise historical sources to draw from, “the general direction this new literary language was to take”, argued Ilse apa, “was well understood by the writers and intellectuals of the years before and after 1917,” with “the influence of the dialects . . . stronger than had been anticipated” by the Soviet leadership “in the 1920s”.⁵

3 Laude-Cirtautas, *Der Gebrauch der Farbbezeichnungen in den Türkdialekten* and “Fragen Der Manas-Forschung,” 220–233.

4 Laude-Cirtautas, “The Past Tense in Kazakh and Uzbek,” 149–158; “On Some Lexical and Morphological Particularities,” 287–306; “On the Development of Literary Uzbek,” 36–51; “On Necessitative and Related Forms in the Turkic Languages,” 44–70; *Chrestomathy [Selections] of Modern Literary Uzbek*; and “Zu den Einleitungsformeln in den Märchen und Epen,” 211–248.

5 Cirtautas, “On the Development of Literary Uzbek,” 38–43.

Ilse apa's interpretation of these historical developments among the Uzbeks represented a clear alternative to Western constructivist notions, which typically attribute such national developments to little other than "Soviet ethnoengineering" in accordance with Soviet-driven "nationalities policies". She instead gave rightful agency and voice, not to Soviet ethnoengineers, but the Central Asian nationals themselves actively involved in determining, at least to some fair degree, their own identities and destinies based in their own indigenous histories, in negotiated resistance to Soviet efforts to control their affairs and define their historical identities. That she maintained this essential viewpoint across the years was noted in private correspondence to Alva Robinson in connection to their discussions about *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood*. There she made it clear in her own words:

There seems to be only one voice tolerated, those who deny the fact that the Central Asians always had a national identity which they maintained opposite the "Other", the Russian colonizers. In addition, the Turkic peoples had to defend their nomadic culture opposite their sedentary neighbors. To state that they received a national identity only from the Soviets during the 1920's is absurd! Similarly the same group of "scholars" also pronounced that the Central Asian republics received their independence only because Moscow handed it to them.⁶

I of course raised similar issues of Central Asian indigenous agency and voice within czarist and Soviet affairs at several junctures in *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood*. One in particular was the ongoing Western constructivist claims regarding Soviet-imposed national borders, a common Western modernist view within older Sovietology and more recent postcolonialist scholarship treating Central Asia (as well as the Middle East, Africa and other former colonial territories across the globe).⁷ In "Borders,

⁶ Personal correspondence of Ilse Cirtautas to Alva Robinson, December 2012. The Uzbek scholar Mashrabjon qizi, drawing from the work of A. Askarov and others, generally agrees that "the process of formation of the Uzbek people" should be interpreted "in a more ancient way" ("Formation of The Uzbek People," 297–298). Note that although the journal in which she published here may possibly be "predatory", this does not discount the importance of Mashrabjon qizi's research or viewpoints.

⁷ Cf. e.g., Hirsch, "Toward an Empire of Nations," 201–226, followed several years later by "Border-Making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities," 145–186. Hirsch gives agency and voice to Central Asian nationals within the process, but ultimately interprets that agency and voice as being defined and determined by Soviet nationalities policy, not their own genuine indigenous understandings of themselves. The Central Asian nationals thus "buy into" Soviet definitions of nationhood which are merely a form of Western modernist constructivism. In this way, she argues against the earlier "divide and conquer" interpretations which also attributed border drawing and nation-making efforts to Soviet control, only to replace it with the modified idea that "empire" and "nation" both worked together to accomplish Soviet administrative aims which were nonetheless Soviet defined and directed. It is because of her rejection of the older 'divide and conquer' school of interpretation that Alexander Morrison, in an otherwise important and insightful article, ("Stalin's Giant Pencil: Debunking a Myth About Central Asia's Borders," accessed 13 September 2022, <https://eurasianet.org/stalins-giant-pencil-debunking-a-myth-about-central-asias-borders>), places her among those more recent post-Soviet scholars who provide more complicated pictures, in spite of her filtering most of, if not the entire process via Soviet centralized authority and control. One important facet Hirsch lifts out, however, is the disagreements

Treaties and Other Matters of Debate in Modern Kazakh Nationhood”, I drew from post-Soviet Kazakh sources which themselves cited earlier czarist and Soviet Kazakh sources demonstrating the agency and voice of Kazakh nationals in traveling to Moscow where they “interacted regularly with the members of the Kirvoenrevkom” and “participated in a meeting which was conducted under the chairmanship of V. Lenin” in order to actively contribute to “the establishment of an autonomous republic and the defining of its borders.”⁸ A slightly revised version of this section of *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood* was republished in the proceedings of an international conference held in 2019 in Kazakhstan.⁹ In a subsequent extended review of the original Kazakh version of *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood*, Bakitzhan Satershinov, one of the Kazakh scholars who organized the conference and edited its conference proceedings, concluded his twelve-page assessment of the book by saying:

This work, published in Kazakh and English, provides profound insights and substantial, worthwhile recommendations on ethnonational and state issues, including ethnonational and religious unity and identity as well as interethnic and intercultural relations. . . . It will potentially disrupt some of the old stereotypes in the field of social science, . . . and influence the way we think about politics. It will surely be of great value to young Kazakhstani scholars, particularly in the fields of political science and cultural studies, if it is placed in their hands.¹⁰

The inclusion within the conference proceedings of the topic of Kazakh agency in defining Kazakh borders during the Soviet period remains highly relevant considering Russia’s annexation of the Crimea and ongoing war in Ukraine since 2014. The issue of borders thus became a major focus of Kazakhstan’s official celebration of the “550th-Year Anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate” during 2015.¹¹ Indeed, it was and remains not only Russia but high-profile and influential Western specialists of Russian studies who continue to insist that “the Crimea crisis” as well as other related debates over the viability of former Soviet Republics “is rooted in the Soviet breakup, when the Soviet republics became independent states, based on borders drawn by Stalin”.¹²

among Central Asians themselves over their own national identities and related borders, which Ilse apa also highlighted in “On the Development of Literary Uzbek in the Last Fifty Years,” though they each did so through rather different theoretical lenses.

⁸ Omarov, „Burın da bolğan, keyin de bola beredi“, 2, citing Alimhan Yermekov from meetings in 1920–’21; Amanzholov, *Türki xalıqtarınıñ tarıxı*, 11, citing czarist-era maps from 1816, 1841 and 1864 showing Kazakh borders roughly corresponding to those of the Kazakh SSR and modern Kazakhstan.

⁹ Weller, “Issues of Comparative History,” 17–39.

¹⁰ Satershinov, unpublished review of *Qazaq pen Orta Aziyalıqtardıñ ulttıǵı men eldigin qorǵaw*.

¹¹ See esp. Jagiparuhi, “Qazaq xandıǵı,” accessed 13 September 2022, <https://egemen.kz/article/36224-qazaq-khandyghy>; Kunanbaeva, ed., *Qazaq xandıǵına*; cf. also Abduahli and Seiitkulova, “Qazaqtıñ xandıǵı tww tikken onǵır,” accessed 13 September 2022, <https://seykhuninfo.kz/tarih/1244-aza-handy-tu-tkken-r.html>.

¹² Stent, “Why America Doesn’t Understand Putin,” accessed 13 September 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/why-america-doesnt-understand-putin/2014/03/14/81bc1cd6-a9f4-11e3-b61e-8051b8b52d06_story.html. This is precisely the view which Morrison, one year earlier, exposed as wide-

The topic's relevance notwithstanding, the main point here remains the areas of general agreement in viewpoint and approach to Central Asian studies which put Ilse apa in much closer alignment with not only the above book and its author but, far more importantly, Kazakh (as opposed to Western modernist) estimations of it by Kazakh national-language-based scholars. In this case, the viewpoint and approach were ones which gave Central Asian national scholars as well as Central Asian national figures agency and voice in Central Asian affairs, both in the outworking of those affairs historically and in the historiographical accounts of those affairs by later post-Soviet Central Asian national scholars, especially those writing in their national languages. This was and remains particularly the case here, as it concerns recognition of a more historically grounded, indigenous view of Central Asian national history and identity as opposed to one based on Western modernist-constructivist notions of Soviet ethnoengineering. No doubt the issue remains complex and the balance difficult to strike; none naively presume it to be entirely one or the other, or even simplistically two sided; the distinctions in viewpoint and approach lie in the weight of recognition granted to each of the agents and voices involved, as well as again the question of the historical depth and authenticity versus late fabricated nature of Central Asian national identity tied closely to (the histories of) national language, culture and territory.

Demonstrated respect for Central Asian national (particularly national language-based) scholarship was a central and inspirational feature of Ilse apa's work, a respect which insisted on taking their work seriously by consulting it, citing from it and translating it as much as reasonably possible in order to make it available to English, German and other Euro-Slavic scholars, and interested general readers, not only to read from but to again incorporate into whatever studies they undertake of those peoples and their affairs, past and present. The need for greater attention to national-language sources as opposed to Russian and/or other Western "imperial" or "foreign" language sources in Central Asian scholarship has of course been affirmed at Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS) and Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) annual conferences, not to mention various books, articles, and more. It was, in fact, affirmed explicitly in a 2006 ASN panel by a prominent Central Asian scholar who has served as president as well as in other leadership capacities in the CESS, prompted, in part, by my presentation of a paper at the conference, which introduced *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood* and its core arguments. I have raised the issue elsewhere as well, most notably in two book reviews. The first was a review of *Social and Cultural Change in Central Asia: The Soviet Legacy*, edited by Sevet Akyildiz and Richard

spread but misguided (see endnote 7 above). Along with Morrison's important article, see also Megoran, *Nationalism in Central Asia*. Megoran "argues that the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan border tensions were not a dispute between long-suppressed ethnic antagonisms that were [allegedly] waiting to explode once the 'lid' of the Soviet Union was lifted off," but rather "a product of the interaction of domestic power struggles in the two states" took shape via (especially two) key developments in the post-Soviet period (Page 6).

Carlson, in which I noted in passing that “[a]part from the few references in [the chapter by Harun] Yilmaz, . . . [Alva] Robinson’s is the only contribution in the volume to draw significantly from national language sources.”¹³ Robinson of course studied under Ilse apa as a graduate student at the University of Washington and remains one among many who will carry on her legacy. That this legacy remains one of the few that demonstrates such deep valuation of Central Asian national-language sources in edited volumes being produced by multiple Central Asian scholars as late as 2014 speaks to the importance of Ilse apa’s legacy and the ongoing need for the field of Central Asian studies to give it renewed attention in honor of her lifetime of contributions to that field. I offered another important critique of this aspect of the national language issue in a review of Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Jacob M. Landau’s *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia: National and Ethnic Identity and the Soviet Legacy*, where I pointed out the following:

[T]he authors themselves are guilty of “ignoring (in practice, at least) other ethnies” (p. 6), including the “titular” ethnies of each of the six independent states. Out of a total of 600 sources in their bibliography, 154 (25%) are Russian, while only nine (1.5%) are drawn from the titular ethnies – four Uzbek, three Azerbaijani, one Tajik, one Kyrgyz, zero Turkmen, zero Kazakh – and none (0%) from “the other ethnic minorities” for which they carry such genuine, deep concern. This is not due to a lack of such publications, certainly not in Kazakh, and little less in Kyrgyz and Uzbek.¹⁴

Indeed, this is all the truer given the plethora of national-language scholarship – inclusive here in the broader sense of newspaper articles and other media – on national language issues among all the Central Asian peoples which the volume all but ignored. Here again we are dealing with the state of Central Asian scholarship as late as 2012.

Ilse apa’s rich contribution to the study of Central Asian national languages and cultures has already been noted above. She not only cited extensively from Central Asian scholars on national language in all her works across the years but shared an added emphasis on “the privilege to live among them”, which she highlighted in her article on “Terms of Endearment in the Speech of the Kazakh Elders”.¹⁵ She closed out that article with further shared sentiments, namely that, “[a]s time passes, one hopes that the admirable attitudes of the Kazakh elders who so generously assure the young of their care will persist and continue to provide the Kazakh language with a warmth and expressiveness which has become rare in our world of matter-of-factness”.¹⁶ Elsewhere she expressed her appreciation for the way that “the pronouncement of blessings” as an integral feature of the Kazakh (and other Central Asian) national language(s) served as

¹³ Weller, Review of *Social and Cultural Change in Central Asia*, 273.

¹⁴ Weller, Review of *Language Politics*, 148. Note that in spite of my critique of certain weaknesses of the work, I made clear in the review that “the book makes an important and welcome contribution to understanding language law and practice in Central Asia in relation to the various ethnic groups which are affected” (page 149).

¹⁵ Laude-Cirtautas, “Terms of Endearment,” 84–95.

¹⁶ Cirtautas, “Terms of Endearment,” 95.

“an act of kindness and politeness”.¹⁷ Her analysis of the language was always situated thoroughly within the social and cultural contexts which gave each particular expression its meaning and significance. This is seen, for example, in her treatment of “Taboo and Euphemism in Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Uzbek” (1976). It could, likewise, reasonably be argued that her treatment of “Blessings and Curses in Kazakh and in Kirghiz” did much more than what even she herself claimed, i.e., simply “offer a selection of expressions of benedictions and malediction”.¹⁸ It was and remains more a sociocultural than linguistic analysis – and a rich one at that – that sheds significant light on Kazakh and Kyrgyz relational practices situated within their respective social structures and occasions, with their accompanying etiquette, custom, spiritual orientation and more – linked at times to their nomadic past in particular.

Ilse apa evidenced a clear concern within her studies for how “the nomadic past” of the “Central Asian Turkic peoples” was “still reflect[ed]” in their present-day languages and cultures.¹⁹ Indeed, her main critique of *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood* was a suggested need to further engage the deeper history of the Central Asian steppe nomads as an essential precursor to understanding the later historical development of Kazakh nationhood. Although a brief section on “Turkic Nationalism in the Streams of Pre-Kazakh History”, which covered “the more distant past of their nomadic ancestors of the Eurasian Steppe”, was included in the original version of the work (p. 190), the second revised version will certainly take her suggestion and example to heart. With a view to that eventual revision, and in honor of her suggested improvement of the work, as well as her commitment to giving first place of attention to Central Asian national-language scholarship, I herein offer a translation of an extended portion of the late Kazakh “white beard” scholar Akseleu Seidimbek (1942–2009), from his 1997 work, *The Kazakh World: An Ethno-cultural Exegesis*. To provide proper background and context for Seidimbek’s comparative historical analysis, I will first quote here from the legend of ancient Scythian origins as recorded in Herodotus:

Now the Scythians say that their nation is the youngest of all nations, and that this came to pass as follows: – The first man who ever existed in this region, which then was desert, was one named Targitaos: and of this Targitaos they say, though I do not believe it for my part, however they say the parents were Zeus and the daughter of the river Borysthenes. Targitaos, they report, was produced from some such origin as this, and of him were begotten three sons, Lipoxaïs and Arpoxaïs and the youngest Colaxaïs. In the reign of these there came down from heaven certain things wrought of gold, a plough, a yoke, a battle-axe, and a cup, and fell in the Scythian land: and first the eldest saw and came near them, desiring to take them, but the gold blazed with fire when he approached it: then when he had gone away from it, the second approached, and again it did the same thing. These then the gold repelled by blazing with fire; but when the third and youngest came up to it, the flame

17 Laude-Cirtautas, “Blessings and Curses,” 9.

18 Cirtautas, “Blessings and Curses,” 22.

19 Cirtautas, “Blessings and Curses,” 9.

was quenched, and he carried them to his own house. The elder brothers then, acknowledging the significance of this thing, delivered the whole of the kingly power to the youngest.²⁰

Most historians, of course, regard this account as “mythical”. Be this as it may, it still contains historical, social, cultural, religious and even political insights into the Scythian-Saka. Many Western scholars, for instance, have interpreted the four golden objects that fell from heaven as indications of the existence of three distinct social-economic “classes” among the Scythian-Saka: farmers, warriors and religious priests or shamans.²¹ From a Kazakh perspective of cultural comparison, however, Seidimbek offers a unique perspective on this legend, noting that:

Quite a few scholars-and-researchers (B.A. Rabikov, D.S. Raevskii, A. Hazanov, etc.) have given their attention to the meaning of this legend and set forth their ideas regarding the Scythian’s [religious] belief-and-faith, cosmology, economic conditions and social life. But there have not been scholars who have taken notice of the connection these four objects which fell from heaven have with astronomy and expressed a plausible idea concerning this.

According to what the elder Tai Tilegenov says, who is a resident of the Ulitau region in the district (‘oblis’) of Zhezkazgan, the following ancient riddle has been recorded:

In the [middle of] the vast desert where no one dwelled, an aspen tree stood shining, having objects on every branch which are needful for living souls:

A hammer, ladle, ‘türen’, and yoke –

paying special attention, I selected [these] four for myself.

The solution to this riddle is [this]: That which is called the vast desert where no one dwelled is the night sky; the shining aspen tree [and its branches] are the stars of heaven; that which is called the hammer [represents] the stars of Libra, Aries, and/or Orion; what is said to be the ladle is Ursa Major; that called the ‘türen’ is the constellation of the stars of Ursa Minor; that called the yoke [represents] the stars of Cassiopea.

In other words, the nomads imagined the heavenly bodies according to the depicted form of the material objects which they used in their own custom of living.

One incredible thing [is that], when we give attention to the ancient Turkish names of these [culturally]-objectified heavenly bodies and to their meanings, the mysterious reason for the legend which Herodotus presents opens forth ever deeper from them. For example, still to this day in the Kazakh language Ursa Major is sometimes referred to as ‘The Ladle’. The residents [of Turkish descent] in the southeastern region of Russia as well, along with referring to the stars of Ursa Major as “Ursa Major,” call [them] also ‘The Ladle’. And, as for the Belorussians of the north, they [too] call Ursa Major ‘The Ladle’. In other words, no doubt can arise that the familiarity-and-understanding concerning Ursa Major among the Turkish speaking nomads and the inhabitants of south eastern Russia has occurred in connection with one another

20 Macaulay, *The History of Herodotus*, 293–4.

21 Cf. Dewald, ed., *Herodotus, The Histories*, 236, 646.

These several objectified senses of the names of the heavenly bodies preserved in the languages of the Turkish speaking peoples not only make it possible to interpret (*bazhailau*) the meaning of the ancient Scythian legend, the synopsis of proofs [given just above] which disclose the mystery of that legend turn [our] attention to the [many things] which are sitting preserved in the language and folklore of the Turkish speaking people of today. This itself must surely be just one of the interesting proofs of the thousands of connections [which there are] between the world of the Scythians and the Turkish speaking peoples, [or] if we state it more precisely, between the Kazakhs [who are] the Scythians.²²

I will forego further analysis myself on these matters and leave the late Kazakh “white beard” scholar to speak on his own terms, as best as I have been able to “channel” that voice via my “academic shamanism”, i.e., English translation. More importantly here would be to address the question of whether Ilse apa’s, Seidimbek’s and even my own scholarship, among others, on the historical sources of Kazakh and Central Asian nationhood should be classified as, and perhaps even written off as, little more than “ideological propaganda” espoused by Central Asian nationalists who are simply a fabricated product of “the Soviet legacy”, or, if not that, then at best “romantic nationalism”? Certainly, that would be a convenient and fairly easy way to resolve the *Challenges to Prevailing Western Views* which these interpretations raise. But it would also be shallow and, in the end, unacademic; by the latter I mean simply “writing them off” presumptuously to pay them no serious mind, as opposed to taking them seriously enough to authentically engage through critical analysis grounded in proper scholarly methodologies and theories and thus include them in the debates. As already noted, the issues are much more complex; a “heterodox” as opposed to an “orthodox” approach is what is needed and is the only real way for scholarly engagement to genuinely flourish. What would be the greater tragedy would be to ignore the concerns of such an eminent, long-time scholar in the field as Ilse apa, who, when she looked out on the field of Central Asian studies in the mid-2000s, after nearly 50 years of international academic observations and contributions, saw “only one voice tolerated, those who deny the fact that the Central Asians always had a national identity which they maintained opposite the “Other, the Russian colonizers.” Other still more inadequate excuses should be avoided as well, such as the mere name of a publisher, especially when a work has been endorsed by well-established and respected Central Asian national scholars, or certain atypical idiosyncrasies, or using *ad hominem* arguments which attempt to falsely portray a colleague as being of some kind of “bad faith” or “poor character” in their attempts to address matters which otherwise earnestly challenge the field, depicting them as motivated by self-serving vanity or alleged “hostility” toward other colleagues, instead of allowing them to address the issues raised by their colleagues in free, fair, open and respectful dialog. It is particularly important that we allow our fellow colleagues the right to respond to alleged criticisms raised about their work without resorting to such stifling and, in the end, only detrimental means of sidestepping the

22 Seidimbek, *Qazaq alemi*, 216–217.

necessary debates. Personal loyalties toward fellow colleagues and/or dislikes of others for perceived “attacks” against them obstruct our ability to engage the issues in healthy exchange. As I said long ago in the Preface to *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood*, and have every reason to believe that Ilse apa essentially agreed: “In the end, the destiny of Kazakhstan and Central Asia is not ours (i.e., Westerners, foreigners) to determine, but their own.”²³ It is the voice of Central Asian national scholars that needs to be heard first and foremost, whether via their own works or those which convey their voices, at least in substantial measure, particularly again when they themselves commend those works to the reading public. To simply ignore or reject those sources is, in part, to ignore and reject those scholars as well as those they have trained, and that Ilse apa would not and did not do – for the sake of and in respect for the Central Asians themselves first and foremost.

Ilse apa left us not only a wealth of scholarship to continue benefiting from but a model and inspiration to follow. I thus close with a memory from my own “privilege to live among” the Kazakh and other Central Asian peoples. When I first moved to the greater Almaty region in 1995 to begin my first four of eight total years of residence in-country, our new Kazakh neighbor in the Soviet-style apartment building we had moved into invited us to the *kirigin beru* (giving of the fortieth), i.e., the fortieth-day memorial meal in honor of her recently passed spouse. I had never attended a Central Asian memorial meal to that point. And it is of course not anything anyone should ever want to attend, particularly not simply for the sake of “experiencing the culture”. I have, indeed, attended too many since that time, always hoping not to have to go to more. And yet, *amal kansha, berimiz adam balasimiz goi* (regardless of what we say or do, we are all mortal); we attended our neighbor’s gathering. Suffice it to say the experience of community support, so often witnessed around the usually more celebratory Kazakh *dastarkhan* (banquet tablet), took on an entirely new and much deeper, special meaning. The sense of human bond which it created between us and our new Kazakh neighbors – not only the grieving one who had invited us, but all those who gathered round to support her and her children in their time of need – left a lasting impression upon me that remains to this day. Indeed, I went on to write my first doctoral seminar paper at Kazakh National University on a topic I am quite sure Ilse apa would have taken great interest in, namely “The Historical Development of the Muslim Funerary Meal and Its Cycle of Days within the Burial Rites of the Kazakh People: From Herodotus to the Present Day”.²⁴ Beyond that, I wrote some five or six graduate papers on various aspects of ancestor, saint and national hero veneration (which I still hope to publish at some point). It is with the memories of that first *asin beru* (giving of the memorial meal), informed now by years of experience with as well as deeper historical research on them, that I come together with all my colleagues in the field of Central Asian studies

²³ Weller, *Rethinking Kazakh and Central Asian Nationhood*, 27.

²⁴ “Qazaq xalqınıñ jerlew saltındagi as beru,” 205–209.

for this *jılın beru* (giving of the one-year, or by extension here, annual memorial) in Isle apa's memory, with she herself joining in from her presumed place of honor now at the *dastarkhan* hosted in the realms inhabited by the Central Asian *aruak* (ancestral spirits). *Sheksiz algıspen* (with endless gratitude for) Ilse apa and her contributions to the study of the Turkic Central Asian peoples: *Artı kairli bolsın, jatkan jeri mangige jarık bolsın!* (May she rest [there] in peace, and may the place where she lies be ever filled with light!)

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Remarks on the Etymology, Semantics and Role of *Apa*, a Turkic Kinship Term, Dedicated in Honor of Ilse (apa) Laude-Cirtautas (1926–2019)

Ilse Laude-Cirtautas (1926–2019), a student of German linguist and historian Annemarie von Gabain (1901–1993), received her PhD in the field of Turkology in 1958 from Hamburg University in Germany. In 1965 Laude-Cirtautas introduced the field of Comparative Turkic Studies to the United States (US) when she became an assistant professor of Uralic and Altaic Studies at Indiana University. Three years later she moved to University of Washington (UW), where she created the Central Asian Studies Program (CASP), an offshoot of the Mongolian and Altaic Studies Program already in place there. Laude-Cirtautas offered courses for the first time on Uzbek and other Turkic languages and literatures of the Soviet Union. According to Nicholas Poppe (1897–1991), her colleague and mentor, such classes were unparalleled as they “had never been taught in the United States . . .”.¹ Everything was created, he continued, “. . . from the very beginning because no books in or about these languages were available”.² In the 1980s she introduced the Central Asian Studies Group, which later became the Central-Inner Asian Studies Seminar, and directed the first exchanges between universities in the US and the Soviet Union. Thereafter, in the early 1990s, she began welcoming and hosting the first group of undergraduate and graduate exchange students—Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks and Uyghurs – to the UW. During her nearly fifty-year career at the UW, she cared for her students as a mother, helping them settle down in their new environs in Seattle. She guided them in forming academic study groups like the Kazakh and Kyrgyz Studies Group, and inspired the creation of academic publications, such as the *Kazakh and Kyrgyz Studies Bulletin* and the *Journal of Central and Inner Asian Dialogue*, the latter being a joint venture with the author of this discussion.

Laude-Cirtautas’s engagement with Central Asia remains unsurpassed. Before her retirement in 2014, she proudly declared, “There exists no other place in the world where so much attention has been paid to Central Asia’s culture, literature and its people. But that should be their judgement”.³ Indeed, her colleagues and students, as the appendices of statements that follow this chapter affirm, looked upon Laude-Cirtautas with admiration. More so, however, they accepted her beyond that of mere professor, colleague or advisor. She embodied someone of the stature of *apa* (an honorific Turkic

1 Poppe, *Reminiscences*, 238.

2 Poppe, 238.

3 Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, personal communication, 15 May 2014.

term meaning “respected mother/elder sister” in Kazakh and Kyrgyz; *opa* in Uzbek), a kinship title seldom attributed to outsiders of Turkic communities.⁴ For Laude-Cirtautas the term very much fit the German concept of *doktormutter* (doctor mother), and she accepted it with all its underlying responsibilities.⁵

The term *apa* appears as early as the eighth century CE in the Orkhon inscriptions of Tonyuquq, Bilgä Kaghan, the Ongin and Kül Tegin. Over time and among various nomadic Turkic groups, the function and meaning of the term have evolved. What had begun as a modifier became part of a military title and a reference to the ancestors. Today it reflects an honored kinship status for mothers and elder sisters. The following discussion relies primarily on Kyrgyz, Kazakh and Uzbek sources and focuses on the historic meanings of the word *apa* and its use today. This chapter first approaches the term’s etymology through historic sources before looking comparatively toward its use in contemporary literature across the various Turkic-speaking communities. The research conducted by the author reveals the term connotes more than just mother or sister. As is seen with other Turkic kinship terms for older females, *apa* expresses respect and is extended to kin, both real and fictive. The elders for whom the term refers feel obligated to guide the young with the wisdom and experiences of the past.

1 The Etymology of *Apa*

Four Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century CE, as stated above, contain the term *apa*. The oldest of these, consisting of two stele and dating to 716 CE, honors Tonyuquq, an advisor and military commander (*bilgä* and *boyla baYa tarqan*).⁶ The memorial stone contains the word *apa* on the tenth line of its north side. The term forms one half of a title, preceding *tarkan*: “*apā tarqanYaru ičrā sabīY it(t)īm*.”⁷ (“But he sent a secret message to Apa Tarkan, I was told.”) The same honorific can be found on the thirteenth line of the south side of the Bilgä Kaghan inscription, memorialized for the eighth-cen-

4 The author relies on the Kyrgyz variant of many of the universal Turkic terms unless referring to a specific Turkic language or quoted directly from a source with its own transliteration. Words published in the Cyrillic script have been Romanized using the common Turkish alphabet.

5 *Doktormutter* is a German term. It is the female equivalent of *Doktorvater*. It refers to a doctoral advisor who has taken a PhD candidate under her care and guidance beyond providing only scholarly expertise.

6 See Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 313. Tekin defines *bilgä* as counselor. For a thorough explanation of *boyla baYa tarqan*, a combination of three separate titles, refer to Erhan Aydin’s “On the Name and Titles of Tonyuquq.” 7. *Bilgä Tonyuquq* appears eight times in the Tonyuquq inscription, while *boyla baYa tarqan* appears three times total, twice in the Tonyuquq inscription and once on the thirteenth line of the south side of the stele of Bilgä Kaghan.

7 Tekin, 251. See page 288 for the translation into English. Takan uses the the long *ā* in his rendering of the word *apa*.

tury-CE kaghan of the Second Turk Empire who passed away in 734 CE.⁸ Sadettin Gömeç reasons the word in this case and the aforementioned reference stands for a military or administrative position.⁹ Volker Rybatzki adduces that the first part in this binomial title indicates ranking,¹⁰ and Muqaddas Allambergenova of Uzbekistan in her 2014 graduating paper explains in detail that the Old Turkic *apa* applies to those of significant status. “. . . [O]‘*zidan katta ulug‘larga, yurt boshqaruvchilarga nisbatan ham qo‘llanilgan*” ([I]t had been used for those bigger (older) than oneself, and also generally for the leaders of a country).¹¹

Talat Tekin, who translated the Orkhon Inscriptions into English in 1968 under the title *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, defines the binomial designation *apā tarqan* as a “great Tarkan, supreme commander, commander-in-chief”.¹² The combination is one that Galina F. Blagova describes as a set of descending relationships (from the elders) as opposed to ascending (designating the young) in the form of “titles, epithets . . ., or with predicates”.¹³ The polynomial title “*inānču apā yarYan tarqan*” bestowed by Bilgä Kaghan upon his newly deceased younger brother, Prince Kül, for example, also indicates a descending relationship. In the designation, *apā* qualifies as a modifier, meaning “great”.¹⁴ It seems that, like the Turkmen *ata* (father; forefather) and *baba* (father, forefather), the descending *apā* in such examples applies “in honor of deceased ancestors”.¹⁵

In other instances where *apa* appears in the Orkhon inscriptions, the term forms one part of a nominal phrase. The Ongin Inscription, a stele erected for El-Etmiş yabYu, a viceroy under the Turkic Qaganate from 687 CE to 716 CE, opens with *äcümüz apāmiz* (our ancestors/forefathers).¹⁶ According to Allambergenova, both *äcū* and *apā* are synonyms, and when joined together, they become an expressive stylistic device. Here they function as a single lexeme, duplicative in nature, that intensifies the original connotation of each word. This is equivalent to the contemporary, more common joining of *ata* (respected father or grandfather in Kyrgyz and Kazakh; *ota* in Uzbek) with its synonym

8 Tekin, 246.

9 See Gömeç, “Kök Türkçe Yazılı Belgelerde Yer Alan Unvanlar,” 929–946. “*Hem askeri, hem de idari unvanlarda yer alır.*” (It takes places in both military and administrative titles.)

10 Rybatzki, “Punctuation Rules in the Toñuquq Inscription?” 217.

11 See Allambergenova, “O‘rxun-Enasoy obidaları lug‘aviy tarkibining tarixiy–qiyosiy tadqiqi,” 27.

12 Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 303. Tekin generally defines *apā tarqan* as “a high title”, 375.

13 Blagova, “Relationships Terms,” 55.

14 Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 238. The text is found on the west side of the stele of Kül Tegin. For an explanation of *inānču*, refer to Erdal’s vol. 1 of *Old Turkic Word Formation*, 286–287; and Clauson’s *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, 187. For an explanation of *yarYan*, refer also to Clauson’s *An Etymological Dictionary*, 903.

15 Blagova, “Relationship Terms,” 56.

16 Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 255. For a discussion on what separates syntactic phrases from Orkhun Turkic compounds, refer to Fisher, “Compound Nouns as Evidence for Earlier Stages of Altaic,” 85–130.

baba (respected father or even forefather; *bobo* in Uzbek), becoming the compound *ata-babalar* (forefathers or ancestors; *ota-bobolar* in Uzbek).¹⁷ The meaning of the compound, like the previous phrase, works to intensify the separate meaning of its two components. For the focus of this discussion, the Old Turkic *äcū* means forefather, and *apā* refers to grandfather.¹⁸

By the end of the eleventh century CE, more than 350 years after the erection of the Orkhon memorial stones, *äcū* had evolved into *äcā*. According to the *Dīwān luYāt at-Turk (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects)* by Mahmud al-Kashgari (1005 CE–1102 CE), it became an “equivalent of: ‘AKA’ äkä meaning ‘Elder sister’”.¹⁹ The rendering of *apā* as ancestor in the Orkhon inscriptions likewise carried over into the Middle-Turkic Karakhanid era. Yusuf Khaṣṣ Ḥajīb (c. 1019 CE–1077 CE, in his mid-eleventh-century-CE *Kutadgu bilig (Wisdom of Royal Glory)*), uses the word *apa* in the context of, “ancestor”, “father” or “forefather”. The word often precedes the term *oġlan*, plural of *oġul*, son or child, to make *apa oġlanı*, “sons (or children) of the forefather”. Robert Dankoff translates the expression as “sons of Adam”, an acceptable interpretation given the Perso-Islamic tropes that pervade the text.²⁰ The connotation of “ancestor” carried over into later Turkic dialects such as Chagatai and Ottoman Turkic for the next several centuries.²¹

Middle-Turkic recordings of *apa* reveal diverging pronunciations and meanings. The *apā* of the Orkhon inscriptions becomes *äbā*, Kashgari notes in his compendium, with the added meaning of mother. The Qarluq Turkmen, Kashgari singles out, pro-

17 Akmataliev, Ucubaliev, Kadırmambetova and Kasımgeldieva, *Kırghız tilinin sözdüğü* I, A–K, 129. The dictionary provides to definitions for *ata* relevant for this discussion: “1. *Balaluu erkek*” (a man with a child), and “2. . . . *Jalpı ele ulgaygan erkekterge kayrilganda urmattoo iretinde aytilat.*” (In general, it is said in a form of respect to elderly men.) For the term *baba* in Kyrgyz, see page 151 of the same publication. Two definitions are attributed to this latter word. The first is “*Tüpkü ata*” (literally original father). The second meaning of *baba* is “*Bedeldüü, kariya adamdarga karata urmattoo, kadrloo iretinde koldonulat.*” (It is used in a form of respect and esteem for eminent and elderly men.) See also Karataev and Eraliev, *Kırğız etnografiyası boyınça sözdük*, 45 and 51. For a definition given in an Uzbek language dictionary, refer to Begmatov, Madvaliev, Mahkamov, Mirzaev, To’hliev, Umarov, Xudoyberganova and Xojiev, *O’zbek tilining izohli lug’ati*: O, 151, which explains *ota* as “*farzandli, bola-charqali er kishi*” (a man with children). For *bobo*, refer to the same series, *O’zbek tilining izohli lug’ati*: B, page 291, which has three separate meanings: “*Otaning yoki onaning otasi.*” (father or mother’s father.); “*O’tmishda yashab o’tgan qarindosh kishilar adjodlar.*” (Relatives and ancestors who lived in the past.); “*Hurmat yuzasidan qariyalar nomiga qo’shib ishlatiladi.*” (Joined to the name of the elderly out of respect.)

18 Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*. For a definition of *äcū*, see page 324, and for *apā* see page 303.

19 Al-Kāshgārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān LuYāt at-Turk: Part 1)*, 122.

20 Hajib, *Kutadgu bilig*, accessed 26 November 2022, <https://ekitap.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/10716/yusufhasha-cibkutadgubiligmustafakacalinpdf.pdf?0>. See lines 1923, 1956 and 2225 among other mentions. For the English translation by Robert Dankoff, refer to his translated *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*.

21 Finch, “The Suffix /-ko/ in Japanese,” 117. “Osm., Chag. *aba* ‘ancestor’”.

nounce it “with hard *bā*”.²² Gerard Clauson (1891–1974), in his etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkic dialects, mentions four various pronunciations: *aba*, *apa*, *ebe* and *epe*. Clauson’s definition is wide ranging. *Apa* stands for ancestor, or someone senior or elder in age, such as a parent or grandparent (male or female for either), paternal uncle or aunt, or elder brother or sister.²³ The Altai till this day associate *aba* with all these meanings.²⁴

Two plausible reasons for the variances in meaning stand out. The first deals with “semantic syncretism”, as Blagova posits in her contribution to *Kinship in the Altaic World*.²⁵ Essentially, a traditional or more archaic semantic connotation or expression merges with a more current, vernacular understanding. For the Turkic people, meanings have emerged, as changes in culture and social structure (i.e. from contacts with Persian, Arabic, Russian, other), language, lifestyle (i.e., from nomadic to sedentary) and belief systems have arisen.²⁶ Blagova asserts the process of semantic syncretism has allowed for the term *apa* to transcend gender oppositions, taking on “‘father’, ‘elder brother’ – or ‘mother’, elder female relative of father”.²⁷ The second reason for the broad rendering stems from “the existence of synonyms created by differing points of departure”, Charles F. Carlson of the American University of Central Asia explains.²⁸ In other words, kinship terms are complicated by the relationship perspectives of each participant involved in a conversation: the speaker, listener and subject. A number of relationship variables, such as age, gender, cosanguinity, differences in generation, etc., are also able to, more specifically, affect the semantics for a particular person by members of the same kin.

Many Turkic-speaking populations across Central Asia use *apa* in their daily discourses, and for reasons explained by Blagova and Carlson, slight variations in the meaning and pronunciation of the word exist alongside synonymms. Among the Turkmen, for example, speakers in the Uzbekistan-bording provinces of Lebap and Dashoguz use *apa* to address mothers or grandmothers. In other regions of Turkmenistan, *ene* or *eje* is used. This is similarly true in Kyrgyzstan, where *apa* is also more frequently heard within populations influenced by Uzbek speakers.²⁹ In other parts, Kyrgyz tend to use *ene* (respected mother) and *eje* (respected elder sister).³⁰ Kazakh speakers, however, in certain situations can interchangeably use *apa* (older sister, older mother, grandmother) with *ana* (respected mother) or *äje* (respected mother or grandmother).³¹

²² Al-Kashgari, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, 122.

²³ Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 122.

²⁴ Kara, “Names of Kinship in the Turkish Dialects of Southern Siberia (Tuğan-Çağın~Tuus Attarı).”

²⁵ Blagova, “Relationship Terms,” 56.

²⁶ Taşbaş, “The Turkic Kinship System,” 246.

²⁷ Blagova, “Relationship Terms,” 56.

²⁸ Carlson, “Finno-Ugric and Turkic Parallel Kinship Systems,” 71.

²⁹ Chorotegin, “Borbor Azia ilimpozdoru Cirtautas ajymdy unutupyt.”

³⁰ Karataev, *Kirgiz etnografiyası*, 39.

³¹ See Şoqım, “Miftik tanımınñ genderlik tildik tinderi,” 188–195. See also Tamaeva, *Leksiko-semantičs-*

2 Addressing Elders with *Apa* as a Sign of Respect

The Turks of Central Asia apply the word *apa* to elder women as a sign of respect. According to a 2011 Kazakh dictionary, the term is said “in the sense of giving honor” (*qurmetteu maǵınasında ayılatın*). An Uzbek dictionary also explains the same sentiment: “*hurmat yuzasidan*” (out of respect).³² Tyntchtykbek Chorotegin, founder of Muras Foundation, in a 2019 article on the passing of Ilse Laude-Cirtautas for *Azattyk Unalgysy* (Radio Asia), reflects upon this custom among the Uzbeks. “*Özbekstanda bul ilimpoz ayyymdy kadyrlap ‘opa’ (‘eje’) dep chakryryshchu.*”³³ (In Uzbekistan they respect this scholarly lady and call her “*opa*” (“*eje*”).)

To understand how a kinship title such as *apa* can be used to express respect, it is best to turn to the Tuvans, a Siberian Turkic group, who, instead of *apa*, use another kinship term for older females. According to Vitaly Voinov, in his *Politeness Devices in the Tuvan Language*, the use of kinship terms by Tuvan speakers allows interlocutors to differentiate age and show signs of politeness. “[T]o Tuvan eyes, one of the important features of politeness is the ability to interact with people of all ages, both older than you and younger than you”.³⁴ This interaction extends to speech behavior as well. According to the social norms of Tuvans, for example, it is offensive to call an elder by his or her name alone.³⁵ Rather, an older lady should be addressed with *ugbay* or *ugham* (respected older sister)—the Tuvan equivalent of *apa*. “When the age difference between interlocutors is clearly more than one full generation,” Voinov writes, *kirgan-avay* (grandmother) is more respecting.³⁶

Central Asian Turkic literature, likewise, shows that the term *apa* is extended to honor both kin and nonkin alike. Among the Central Asian Turks, while addressing an elder woman directly, the speaker respectfully identifies her as *apa*, depending on the relationship with her and on the age difference between both. While speaking of the elder woman in the third person, the speaker considers whether the woman is his or her own birth mother (or elder blood sister among Uzbeks), that of the listener or of a third party. If the woman is indeed the speaker’s birth mother or being spoken to

kaja gruppа slov kazaxskogo jazyka s semantikoj uvažitel’nosti-vežlivosti.

³² See the following dictionaries for explanations: Uäli, Qurmanbayuly and Malbakov, *Qazaq sözdigi* (*Qazaq tiliniñ birtomdyq ülken tüsindirme sözdigi*), 91: “*Jası ülken äyel adamdı qurmetteu maǵınasında ayılatın qaratpa атауш.*” (It is said in the sense of respecting an elderly woman.); For an explanation from an Uzbek dictionary, see *O‘zbek tilining izohli lug‘ati*: O, 128. “*O‘zidan katta, ba‘zan kichik ayollarga hurmat yuzasidan ularning ismiga ko‘shib ishlatiladi.*” (It is used joined to the names of older women and sometimes to younger women out of respect.). For a Kyrgyz explanation, see *Kyrgyz tilinin sözdüğü*, vol 1, 103.

³³ Chorotegin, “*Borbor Azia ilimpozdorı Cirtautas aıymdy unıtpayt,*” accessed 26 November 2022, https://www.azattyk.org/a/science_usa_kyrgyz_germany_asia_ilse-laude-cirtautas_obit_tch_ky/30108236.html.

³⁴ Voinov, *Politeness Devices in the Tuvan Language*, 54.

³⁵ Voinov, 92.

³⁶ Voinov, 98.

directly, the speaker refers to her with the first-person singular possessive *apam* (my mother). If the woman is the birth mother of the listener, then the second-person possessive, *apang* or *apangiz*, is used. Otherwise, the third-person possessive *apası* (his or her mother) for that of a third party. However, if the elder woman is not truly the birth mother, as Laude-Cirtautas observes, the kinship term follows the first name.³⁷ This can be clearly seen in the chapter titles of *Tarıxtın aktay baraktarı* (The white pages of history) by Roza Aitmatova (1937–), sister of the late Kyrgyz writer Chingiz Aitmatov (1928–2008). The book chapter focused on her mother, for example, reads “Apam” (My mother). Aitmatova titles additional chapters devoted to other elder women in her family with the first name followed by the honorific *apa* (i.e., “Ayımkül *apa*”, “Karagız *apa*” and “Gülayım *apa*”).³⁸

It is also not uncommon in Turkic literature to find examples of the kinship nomenclatures for mother or older sister extended to relatives beyond the natural birth mother or consanguineal sister(s). Turks apply titles such as *apa* and its synonyms, *ene/ana* (Kyrgyz/Kazakh, meaning respected mother) and *eje/äje* to grandmothers (and great-grandmothers) and wives of fathers. (Among Uzbeks, *opa* is used to refer to elder sisters.) *The Bābur-Nāma*, the memoirs of the 15th-/16th-century founder of the Mughal Empire, Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Bābur, reflects a culture in which the title of mother (*ona* in Uzbek and Chagatai) is also extended to grandmothers. Bābur mentions of two instances when his “mothers”, for example, sent him correspondences as Andijon, then in his control, lay under seige by rebels who deserted his army. “Letters”, he writes, “kept coming to me from my mothers. . . . Such letters! so anxious, so beseeching, coming from my mothers, that is from my own and hers, Aisān-daulat Begīm . . .”³⁹ (“*Onalarim-opam va onamning onasi Eson Davlatbegim . . .*”)⁴⁰ Bābur makes clear to readers, both by way of using the plural form of *mother* and by the specifics of his grandmother’s name, that “mother” renders more than just his birthmother. Bābur, the reader learns, bestows the same honorific, *ona*, upon both his mother and maternal grandmother.

Addressing grandmothers as respected mothers also exists among the Kazakhs. *Abay jolı* (*The Path of Abay*), the four-volume biography about Kazakh *aqın* Abay Kunanbay (1845–1904) by Mukhtar Auezov (1897–1961), for example, reflects this. The narrator, Abay and other characters all refer to both mother and grandmother alike with overlapping terms. In one episode, Abay awakes from slumber next to his mother, Uljan, and grandmother, Zere. He finds himself suffering from physical afflictions after witnessing his father, Kunanbay, gather the other men of the encampment to first beat and then stone to death old Kodar. (Kodar is accused of having inappropriate relations with his own deceased son’s wife.) In response Abay calls out to both his mother

³⁷ Laude-Cirtautas, *Chrestomathy of Modern Literary Uzbek*, 174.

³⁸ Aitmatova, *Tarıxtın aktay baraktarı*.

³⁹ Zahiru’d-din Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh Ghāzī, *The Bābur-nāma*, 88–89. In the Uzbek version of *Bābur-nāma*, “my mothers” is translated as *onalarim*.

⁴⁰ See Zaxiriddin Muxammad Bobur, *Boburnoma*, 60.

and grandmother: “*Apa . . . äje . . . Nemene, men aurumın ba osı?*” (Respected mother . . . grandmother . . . What, am i sick?).⁴¹ Abay’s blurring of mothers and the usage of interchanging terms are magnified when the reader considers that both Uljan and Zere are both referred to as *äje* in the first chapter. “*Äjenge bar*” (Go to your mother), Abay’s mother tells him, urging him to greet his grandmother. The narrator also describes Uljan by the same term: “*Äjesi özine*” (for his own mother).⁴² Still, readers of Kazakh are made to understand *apa* and *äje* as holding the same respect as *ana*, usually reserved for elderly women and also said out of respect. “*Eki ana ortasında janı aurğan bir bala*” (In between two mothers, one heart-broken child), the narrator reveals as mother and grandmother alike share in the responsibility of comforting the young Abay.⁴³

Aside from honoring paternal grandmothers with the honorific title of *apa*, the Turks of Central Asia, namely the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, also refer to their paternal aunts and the wives of fathers as *apa*. Chingiz Aitmatov (1928–2008) in a number of his essays and biographical publications calls his father’s older sister (*eje*), Karagız, as *apa*.⁴⁴ Aitmatov, in conversation with his close friend and People’s Writer of the Republic of Kazakhstan Muxtar Shaxanov (1942–), for example, writes of Karagız: “*Apam menen Karagız apam gana bizdin balalık nazık köñülübüzgö atabız tuuraluu çındıktı, jıluu sezimderge bölüp jürüşti.*”⁴⁵ (Only my mother [apam] and paternal aunt Karagız [Karagız apam] tried to preserve for our childly, tender hearts the truth and warm feelings about our father.)

Just as *apa* can refer to paternal aunts, the term can also extend to the other wives of a father. Before and up through the early decades of the Soviet Union, it was not uncommon for many Muslim Turkic men to have multiple wives. Islam allowed the practice, and nomadic custom, Aitmatov explains in his early novella *Jamila*, demands the closest male kin of deceased husbands to marry their newly widowed wives. “*İlgerten kalgan adat boyunça ağayın-tuugandar jesirdin başın baylap koyolu dep, arbak, kudayga tuuralap*”.⁴⁶ (According to the custom that has remained since antiquity, prescribed by the ancestors and God, male relatives had to marry widows.) Annette Susannah Beveridge, who translated *The Bābur-Nama* into English, hints at the custom in a footnote, surmising Bābur may have counted widowed wives of his father too among his mothers who had written the previously mentioned letters he received.⁴⁷

⁴¹ See Auezov, *Abay*. Vol. 1 of *Abay jolı*, 45.

⁴² Auezov, 11; 12.

⁴³ Auezov, 47. Roza Aitmatova demonstrates that, like the Kazakhs, the Kyrgyz also refer their paternal grandmothers as *apa*. See *Tarıxtın aktay baraktarı*, 59–61.

⁴⁴ See Aitmatov, “*Adam, koom, mezgil jana adabiyat: Menin mekenim,*” 8.

⁴⁵ Aitmatov and Shaxanov, *Askada kalgan añçunın ıy* (*Kılum kıyırındağı sır achuu*), 23. The publication has been translated into English: Shakhonov and Aitmatov, *The Plight of a Postmodern Hunter*. David Parry, ed. (London: Hertfordshire Press, 2015).

⁴⁶ Aitmatov *Djamilya*, 4.

⁴⁷ Bābur, *Bābur-nama*, 89.

The Kazakhs also share in the custom of children calling a father's other wives *apa*. In one episode of *Abay*, a young Abay physically punishes his half-brother Smağul for using profanities at Ospan, Abay's full-blooded younger brother. This sends Smağul into a screaming frenzy, leading Smağul's mother, Ayğiz, second wife of Abay's father, to reproach the older half-brother.⁴⁸ Abay, in trying to explain himself, addresses Ayğiz as *kişi apa* (little mother), as she is inferior in rank to his own mother, Uljan, first wife of Abay's father. Nonetheless, and despite the diminutive form of *apa* used for Ayğiz, the narrator honors her as *ana*. This makes it clear that Abay and the other children regard her no less than a respected mother. Similarly, in Aitmatov's *Jamila*, Seiyit, the narrator, references his father's second wife as *kişi apa*.⁴⁹

While the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz color the term *apa* within a motherly concept, in connection to kin, the Uzbeks extend the word to consanguinean elder sisters, which according to Laude-Cirautas, also carries the meaning of mother.⁵⁰ In the 1926-published *O'tkan kunlar* (*Bygone Days*), by Abdulla Qodiriy (1894–1938), forces conspire to drive a rift between protagonist Otabek and his new bride, Kumush. Brother-sister duo Sodiq and Jannat deliver letters drafted and forged in the name of each spouse, one given to Otabek and one given to Kumush. In dialog exchanges between both, Jannat refers to her little brother as *innim Sodiqboy* (my little brother Sodiqboy). Sodiq, on the other hand, addresses Jannat as *opa*, rather than with her first name. "*Opa, siz tag'in bir martaba qutidorning uyiga xat olib boraturg'an bo'ldingiz . . .*"⁵¹ (Elder sister, you once again will have to take a letter to the house of Qutidor).

Just as *apa* is used for family, it can be applied to nonkin as well. This is because, as Patrick Wing notes in his recent book, *The Jalayirids: Dynastic State Formation in the Mongol Middle East*, nomadic tribes are governed "by an openness and fluidity that" permits the inclusion of "kin groups and clients."⁵² Grandma, in *The Blue Sky*, by Galsan Tschinag (1944–), the first in a series of stories about the growth of a young Tuvan boy in Mongolia during the 1950s, explains it more succinctly. "If you look more closely, you will see that we are kin even to animals around us. Why then not kin to people whoever they may be? We are all shoots of one tree, children of one mother."⁵³ This concept holds true also for the Central Asian Turks.

In the aforementioned *O'tkan kunlar*, for example, Homid conspires with Sodiq to destroy Otabek's marriage to Kushum. Homid addresses Sodiq's elder sister, Jannat, who loyally serves both, as *opa*.⁵⁴ The effect of having Jannat be addressed as *opa* by someone other than her brother is twofold. First, it clearly demonstrates the cultural

48 Auezov, 92–93.

49 Aitmatov, *Djamilya*, 6.

50 Laude-Cirautas, "Elders in Uzbek Society and Literature," 30.

51 Qodiriy, *O'tkan kunlar*, 181.

52 Wing, *The Jalayirids*, 31.

53 Tschinag, *The Blue Sky*, 25.

54 Qodiriy, *O'tkan kunlar*, 181.

nuance of Uzbeks in respecting elders. This is made all the more evident when Homid couples the term with the plural possessive suffix *-ingiz*, and uses verbs with endings reflecting the negated polite present-definite future suffix *-maysiz* and the polite conditional *-sangiz* when speaking directly to Jannat.⁵⁵ Second, it hints at Jannat's exculpation of any wrongdoing, as she is unaware of the scheming ways of her younger brother and Homid.

Laude-Cirtautas notes, in her article "On Some Lexical and Morphological Particularities of Literary Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Uzbek",⁵⁶ that Kazakhs and Kyrgyz instead address nonrelated persons with *apay* "as a sign of respect".⁵⁷ While this indeed is accurate, examples also abound in recent Kyrgyz literature of the term *apa* being extended to also nonrelatives. One such example can be found in *Kököy kesti* (Not to be forgotten),⁵⁸ a novel written by Öskön Danikeev (1934–2019) in 1984. The book takes place during World War II, away from the battlefronts of Europe, in the distant, remote mountains of Kyrgyzstan. Murat, the protagonist of the story, treks back to the village of his friend, Turgunbek, who is "*muna emi jok*," (like that now gone), without even having said goodbye.⁵⁹ Upon Murat's arrival to the mountains, he greets, Ilzat, the younger brother of Turgunbek, and Ayşa, whom the narrator and Murat both refer to as Ayşa apa. The effect is the same as Laude-Cirtautas reasoned for Pirmqul Qodiriy's usage of *aka* (older brother) and *opa* in the Uzbek short story "*Issiqko'l safari*" (Issyk Kul trip). The purpose is to introduce the character as "the reader would address" any female of age – with respect.

3 Apa As Transmitter of Traditional Wisdom

In one of her last written scholarly articles, Laude-Cirtautas writes the following: "Accordingly, elders, i.e., those at the age of fifty and beyond, are expected to fulfill the responsibilities placed on them centuries ago . . . to transmit values, traditions and customs to the younger generation."⁶⁰ For this reason, the young look to the elders–

55 Laude-Cirtautas, *Introduction to Modern Literary Uzbek*. See pages 56–57 for possessive suffixes, pages 78–79 for the present-definite future tense.

56 Laude-Cirtautas, "On Some Lexical and Morphological Particularities of Literary Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Uzbek," 292.

57 Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, "On Some Lexical and Morphological Particularities," 292.

58 According to Azamat Sadykov, a Kyrgyz who befriended Laude-Cirtautas during her last years, and Edil Turdumambetov, *kököy kesti*, as explained by the former's grandmother, reflects the act of elders recalling unpleasant events or people of the past, especially those they suffered or endured through or under. The term works as a compound and is often also written together, as in the title of Kyrgyz writer Melis Abakirov's 2000 novel, *Kököykesti*.

59 Danikeev, *Kököy kesti*, 4.

60 Laude-Cirtautas, "Central Asian Turkic Elders," 2.

specifically for this discussion, mothers and elder sisters—who looking toward the wisdom of the ancestors, are obligated to provide guidance and protection. The wisdom of elders develops at a young age and manifests itself in the knowledge passed down from previous generations. For this reason, the young consider elders as living books. Bābur, for example, praised his own grandmother as being unequal in “judgement and counsel; she was very wise and farsighted and most affairs were carried through under her advice.”⁶¹ Beveridge notes in her introduction to the memoir that the “child [Bābur] learned respect for the attainment of his wise old grandfather,” from her.⁶² Aitmatov shares a similar sentiment when talking about his own grandmother. “She was an exceptionally charming and intelligent woman.”⁶³ She was a transmitter of stories and wisdom. According to Laude-Cirautas, Aitmatov thereafter deduced “a child without a grandmother becomes a cultural orphan.”⁶⁴ He, specifically, extended similar esteem toward his aunt Karagız: “*Karagız apabız okubagan bolso da sözgö çeçen, arı akılman ele.*” (Our Karagız *apa*, even though she could not read, was eloquent with words, and beyond wise.)⁶⁵

The source of wisdom for elders flows through the oral literature of the past: (i.e., proverbs, folk tales, songs, etc.) and one's own life experiences. Laude-Cirautas observes that “one of the major obligations of the Central Asian Turkic elders is to convey their experiences and wisdom to the young.”⁶⁶ Experiences are not transmitted directly but through proverbs, folk tales, legends and songs. In *The Blue Sky*, for example, Grandma elaborates on news of the day reported by Mother and Father. She, her grandson witnesses, “added explanations and time and again developed them into stories.”⁶⁷ Similarly, Ayşa *apa* of *Kököi kesti*, is seen to feed her little Izat fairy tales that explain life. “*Baarydan Izat . . . Izatka bul enesi aytuuçu sykırduu jomoktoğu Köykaptın özündöy köründü.*” (Izat most of all . . . for Izat the magical fairy-tale his mother would tell resembled Köykaptın itself.)⁶⁸ Aitmatov, also, while reminiscing about his own grandmother and aunt, tells how they filled his life with folk tales: “She [Aitmatov's grandmother] adorned my childhood with fairy tales, songs and meetings with folk tale narrators and bards. . . . Like her mother, she [his aunt] . . . knew many fairy tales and ancient songs”⁷⁰

61 Bābur, *Bābur-nama*, 43.

62 Beveridge, Introduction to *The Bābur-nāma (Memoirs of Bābur)* by Zahirū'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh Ghāzī, XXVIII.

63 Chingiz Aitmatov, *Time to Speak*, 3.

64 Laude-Cirautas, conversations with author.

65 Aitmatov and Shaxanov, *Askada kalgan añçının ıyı*, 23.

66 ILaude-Cirautas, “Elders in Uzbek Society and Literature,” 31.

67 Tschinag, *The Blue Sky*, 45.

68 Danikeev, *Kököi kesti*, 15.

69 Köykap is a mountainous valley in the south of Kyrgyzstan. It also is a mythological area, usually underground, in which malevolent forces, usually spirits, battle humans and animals.

70 Aitmatov, *Time To Speak*, 5–6.

Elders, in their long lives, have relied on their own experiences and weighed them against the teachings of their own elders. Referring to Aysa *apa* of *Kököy kesti*, for example, readers discover how she considers in each decision she makes what was passed down to her, just as every elder who has survived into old age has done. “*A kay biri uzun ömüründö körüp-bilgenin, özünün uluulardan ukkanın ıglap-teskep, bir emes, miñ iret tarazalap akgılga salıp kiyinki muun, jaştarga ülgü, aytkanı nuska.*”⁷¹ (And she was one that wept over what she had seen and heard in her long life, over what she heard from her elders and considered it not once, [but] a thousand times, put it to mind and set an example for the next generation, for the youth.) Elders train themselves to think this way because, as the *Rukhnama*, by the late Saparmyrat Turkmenbasy (1940–2006), reminds readers, they feel an obligation to “bring up children suitably equipped with the necessary skills for conditions in the real world.”⁷²

4 Conclusion

One of the oldest words in the Turkic lexicon remains *apa*. Because of the fluidity of nomadic Turkic society, Central Asian Turks today ascribe elder females, kin and nonkin alike, with motherly or sisterly roles, addressing them as *apa*. The women to whom younger generations bestow *apa* possess qualities of wisdom that develop from the transmission of words handed down from the ancestors. It is only befitting that students and colleagues revere Ilse Laude-Cirtauas as Ilse *apa/opa*. Her career remains exemplary as she, with great focus, listened to the words and experiences of the Turkic elders of Central Asia. She worked tirelessly to preserve the words entrusted to her and shared them with younger generations of the region as well as those studying the cultures of the people there. With steadfast effort, she struggled against forces that worked to erase them by opening libraries and institutions that would house the publications of such words. Along the way she also opened her home and provided shelter for so many students. For those with little resources, she funded their education and gave them food. She exemplified the core Turkic virtues she taught her students: bravery, wisdom and generosity. Laude-Cirtauas passed away in July of 2019. A month later her daughter, Arista Cirtauas, responded to condolences emailed from the author of this chapter, saying the following: “She was your ‘Doktor-mutter’. And that implies a special kinship of the spirit, of the intellect, and, in this case, of a kinship rooted in a shared passion for Central Asia that is every bit as important (again – if not more so!) as blood kinship.”⁷³

⁷¹ Danikeev, *Kököi kesti*, 11.

⁷² Turkmenbasy, *Rukhnama*, 11.

⁷³ Arista Cirtauas, personal communication, 8 August 2019.

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Reminiscences

Ilse Cirtautas and Libraries

Mary St. Germain

I was not one of Ilse Cirtautas' students in Central Asian studies.¹ Instead, my experiences with her were less concentrated, coming via my first job as a Slavic librarian and later as Head of the Near East Section of the University of Washington Libraries. I and the libraries benefited greatly from Ilse's efforts and connections. I feel that Ilse's greatest influences were her ability to connect people to their mutual benefit, and to foster international exchanges with long lasting results. What stood out most was Ilse's unwavering dedication to Central Asia and its people, as well as her desire to pass on that love of the region to others.

I began my career in the Slavic Section of the University of Washington Libraries in 1973. Shortly after, as part of an effort to reinvigorate the section, the head of the section made two trips throughout the former Soviet Union to develop exchange agreements with the national libraries and Akademiia Nauk libraries in each Republic. Ilse was instrumental in providing the Head with contacts in the Central Asian republics, particularly with Ismet Kenesbaev in Almaty. Due to her help, the University of Washington Libraries was one of the few libraries in the United States that regularly received a wide range of books and journals from Central Asia from the early 1970s until shortly after the break-up of the Soviet Union.

In 1994 and 1995, Ilse was part of a grant called the Kyrgyz American School Project, obtained through the International Research and Exchange (IREX) Board. Basically, the Project provided funding and support for a variety of scholars to visit and help develop the recently founded Kyrgyz-American University, located in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. After the grant, it became the American University in Central Asia. As part of the Project, Ilse asked the University of Washington Libraries to do an assessment of and help develop the library at the Kyrgyz-American University. I was the lucky person who got to go. The "Library" turned out to be a single room with a reasonable number of books about teaching English as a foreign language. A young woman, who had recently graduated with a degree in physics, had been chosen to be the librarian. Through the grant, I was able to purchase Winnebago, no relation to the Recreation Vehicle firm, but rather an electronic library software system suitable for small libraries that would support cataloging, a public online catalog, and circulation. The young woman came to the University of Washington Libraries for five weeks of training in how to set up a computer;

¹ Mary St. Germain is head librarian, Near East Section University of Washington Libraries.

how to set up Winnebago and how to catalog. She also spent a little time in the book mending and sat with people at the University of Washington Libraries and at a variety of smaller libraries to observe typical library work. Since it was not possible for the Kyrgyz-American University to buy books directly from the United States, I also worked with other participants in the grant to identify a wider range of books that IREX would then order and ship. I went back to Bishkek the following year. Although the new library was set up and functioning, its operation was not ideally smooth. I was very pleased when I stopped by about five years later and found the library functioning efficiently, as ably as many American libraries of similar size. It was totally due to Ilse's foresight and efforts that there was the opportunity to give that library a good start. Not only did she help the library, but this experience introduced me to Central Asia, which enabled me to work with the area later. In truth, Ilse's dedicated insistence on helping libraries to help scholars is something I have rarely seen. It also made me aware that during the grant period, it is likely that the beneficiary of the grant will be able to incorporate only a small portion of the training. It can be some years before the new concepts and experiences truly take root and blossom.

Ilse wrote a grant proposal called the Uzbekistan Educational Partnership Program for Cultural and Comparative Religious Studies, which was awarded to the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization at the University of Washington in 2003. For three years, the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization at the University of Washington partnered with five universities in Tashkent, with the main intent of working on the modernization of teaching culture and religion. Again, Ilse had written in a library section – specifically, an assessment of the needs of the library of the Abu Rayhan al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan. Ilse chose me to do the assessment. I was thrilled to do it. Since the al-Biruni Library holds many valuable manuscripts and had no online presence, I asked that a preservation expert and one of the University of Washington Libraries' computer specialists also be brought to look at those aspects of the al-Biruni Library. Although the grant had limited funds for improvements, we were able to provide a camera so that manuscripts could be digitized, thus decreasing handling them and allowing copies to be shared with external researchers. Although this grant did not provide much money for equipment, it became apparent that the al-Biruni used the assessment report heavily and successfully in soliciting other contributions of money and equipment.

During the three years of the grant, for each quarter, three researchers were chosen from among the five universities visited the University of Washington. Each received help with how to use the online catalog and databases at the University of Washington Libraries. Two of the visitors stood out for their interest in the libraries. One, rather than focus entirely on his own research, doggedly worked his way through database after database in search of materials that he felt would be of use at his university. Every few days he would come back to the libraries and ask how best to search his next choice of database. He said that he hoped the library at his university would eventually come

to have similar research tools and similar unrestricted access to them. Another took the time to look at how the University of Washington Libraries treated teaching tools in our special collections unit. At that time computers with overhead projectors were new. The University of Washington Libraries had installed one of our first two such projectors in the Special Collections teaching room. Also, at that time, Unicode had not been developed. The al-Biruni was struggling to find fonts their researchers could use, and so, their computers were mostly used for email. We had shown databases of images of our rare materials to several of the researchers. However, the amount of work, technical knowledge and the expense of equipment seemed too overwhelming for such a project to be viable. Frankly, the costs and staff requirements for creating databases were overwhelming at the University of Washington Libraries, where we had had an online environment for twenty years. Once we were able to demonstrate local image databases on a computer with a projector to our visitor, their value immediately became clear. Funding the equipment was not possible within the grant, but the seed of the idea was planted. In 2010 to 2012, UNESCO, with a much larger grant, again provided training and equipment for the same manuscript restoration and digitization needs described in this grant. Ilse was right on target with her goals.

After I worked on the assessment, some of the University of Washington faculty made a short trip to Khiva. On the flight out, I sat across the aisle from Ilse, with some Uzbek women. I spoke Russian, which Ilse did not. The women began to ask me about her. They could not get over how much she looked like an Uzbek woman. They were very impressed with her looks and with the fact that she studied Uzbekistan. I could not tell Ilse, but I am sure that to her, being taken for an Uzbek woman would have been a great compliment. One day in Khiva, we were sitting in a small square. A girl, around eight years old, came a few times from one of the stores to offer Ilse small objects. She would buy yet another bread stamp or similar object, saying that one must support little girls.

It has always been difficult to buy Central Asian books. Book publishers and bookstores in Central Asia do not have the kind of bank accounts or export licenses that would allow them to sell abroad. Starting in 2001, I began to make acquisition trips to Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan to buy and ship books for the University of Washington Libraries. Ilse was very eager to see the books when they arrived. She would select a few to read immediately so that she could present book reviews at the Central Asian Studies Seminar. I made acquisition trips about every five years through 2016. Without Ilse's advice, and the experience and contacts I gained on the two grants, those trips would have been far more difficult.

Ilse loved showing off how the University of Washington Libraries book stacks are open to the public and how the libraries allows anyone in to use the books within the building. Every time Ilse had visitors from Central Asia, she made a point of bringing them to the libraries. She was particularly fond of demonstrating that one could just take a book off the shelf and check it out, instead of having to request a book and have

library staff page it from a closed shelving area. Although it was not possible to convince libraries in Central Asia to open their book stacks, Ilse never missed a chance to plant ideas that would make the researcher's life easier.

Ilse was also unusual in the way she created a student group for Central Asian Studies. Instead of creating a language circle for speaking practice, she set up the Central Asian Studies Seminar, which met weekly. A student was elected as the president. Expert guest speakers were found for weekly meetings. Students were expected to write and present papers. The seminar functioned as a mini professional association. She went to great efforts to give students an early taste of life in academia. Along the same lines, for over twenty years, she organized the annual Nicholas Poppe Symposium, bringing expert speakers from around the Pacific Northwest and encouraging her students to present papers.

Ilse was a master at getting things to work in Central Asia. For the assessment of the al-Biruni Library, statistics on the types and quantities of materials were necessary. The al-Biruni Library did not keep such information. It still had a card catalog. In such cases, one measures the inches of cards in the card catalog. One needs the information from 263 cards, selected at equal intervals through the catalog. Our computer specialist and I had arrived one morning ready to start measuring and photographing the cards. One of the al-Biruni's researchers stood in front of the catalog and told us we were not allowed to know what the library owned. It was apparent we would get no further, so we trekked back to the grant office. Ilse arrived soon after and assured us all would be settled by the following day. She handed out some liqueur chocolates. I will never know whether Ilse really like those chocolates and carried them regularly, or whether she knew they could be comforting when problems arose. They were certainly comforting when we were not sure we would be able to complete the assessment. She was right, though, things were fixed by the next day.

Even after her passing, Ilse contributed to libraries. She donated her Central Asian books and journals to the University of Washington Libraries. The approximately 4,800 newspapers issues, mostly from the 1990s are in the process of being shipped to the Center for Research Libraries for microfilming. They will add substantially to the collection of microfilm of newspapers that can be loaned to scholars. The approximately 900 journal issues and 2,000 books are being processed steadily. Those too will add greatly to the Central Asian materials available to students and scholars.

I remember Ilse fondly for her dedication and love of Central Asia, and for introducing me to an area I found I loved, but which I had never expected to visit.

Ilse Ayim: Always With Kind Intentions Toward the Kyrgyz People

Roza Aitmatova

It was around 1996.² . . . The Soviet government had just collapsed, and Kyrgyzstan became an independent, sovereign state. As would be the case, everyday life in Kyrgyzstan had already been turned upside down when drastic social changes began to emerge. Factories, as well as collective and state farms, once considered as everlasting sources of livelihood, collapsed and unemployment swept the country. It turns out, that in such conditions, it was the women who suffered the most, for they placed the well-being of their families and children above themselves.

Naturally, I ached to be able to help our women. Opportunity came when, alongside such women as Roza Otunbayeva and Rakhat Achylova (1941–2015) and others,³ I became involved in establishing and developing a women's movement in Kyrgyzstan.⁴ With like-minded supporters, I founded the nongovernmental organization Ayaldarga Jardam Berüü Borboru (Center for Helping Women) and became actively involved in social work. It was during this time, that I met Professor and Turkologist Ilse Cirtautas, thanks to Roza Otunbayeva. Ilse Ayim worked at the University of Washington, in Seattle, where in the 1990s, within the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, Professor Cirtautas formed study groups for Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Kazakh languages and recruited students for exchange programs. Ilse Ayim (this is how we addressed her; in Uzbekistan she was called Ilse *Opa*) supervised the entire process. She knew all these languages perfectly, came to our countries for work trips and studied not only the languages but also the customs and traditions of our peoples.

2 Ilse Laude-Cirtautas always spoke very highly of Roza Aitmatova, considering Aitmatova as her best friend. It was not uncommon of Laude-Cirtautas upon hearing of someone leaving for Kyrgyzstan to request well-wishes be given to Aitmatova. In an interview with *Voice of America*, Laude-Cirtautas expressed, "Roza Aitmatova and I were close friends." Laude-Cirtautas also shared her admiration for Aitmatova's very clear writing style and eagerly awaited Aitmatova's 2010 memoirs, *Tarıxtın aktai baraktarı* (The white pages of history). Aitmatova's work impressed deeply upon Laude-Cirtautas, who devoted an entire seminar to it in December of 2010.

3 Roza Otunbayeva became the first female president of any Central Asian republic in 2010. Prior to that she served as an ambassador to the United Kingdom. Laude-Cirtautas had regarded Otunbayeva and Gulnara Jamasheva, a close friend of Otunbayeva and Aitmatova, and a former student of Laude-Cirtautas, with high esteem. When Otunbayeva served as ambassador of Kyrgyzstan to the United States, Laude-Cirtautas invited Otunbayeva to the University of Washington. Laude-Cirtautas often credited these three women as part of a handful of women making significant impacts in Kyrgyzstan.

Rakhat Achylova was a scholar, specializing in philosophy and sociology.

4 Achylova served as the movement's chair.

I remember while there discussing with her the new land laws that were implemented at the time. In the 1930s, the generation before us, of our fathers, were busy building a society where all people were to be equal and not divided into rich and poor. They intended to convert private land for public use, giving it to collective and state farms so that all members of these farms could receive the same benefit from the land. But the opposite occurred when it came time to having to divide the land equally among the people who lived and worked on these farms. According to the new law, all family members living on the territory of these farms were to receive equal plots. But selling, donating, changing plots was not allowed. Later, however, laws revised and changed the original provisions. But Ilse Ayım and I were discussing another provision of the law. Who would inherit the land, house and all other property after the death of the parents? The answer was clear: progeny would divide everything equally among themselves.

Before that law, Kyrgyz had an unwritten law, according to which children were separated from parents in turn. Attention was given first to the eldest son, who after marrying, moved away and created a family. The focus then shifted to the next eldest child, who likewise, after marrying, was expected to build a nest outside of the parents' domain. All necessary property and opportunities were provided for each child. The youngest son, however, remained unseparated from his parents and inherited all their property.⁵ He, however, obligates himself to his parents. From childhood, he would have already learned that when his parents enter old age, they would fall into his care.

This fascinated Ilse Ayım, who said, "What a great law. It considers the care and provision for the parents when they enter old age. Why was this law not passed? For some reason, you are following Western laws and customs when, in fact, you have admirable customs and traditions, according to which representatives of the older generations are respected and looked after in old age.

Yes, she was right. Maybe not having such a law has been the reason behind the increase in the number of elderly people being handed over to nursing homes among the Kyrgyz today. This was not the case before.

Not only did Ilse Ayım's perspectives intrigue me, but her appearance impressed me. Although she was German, she didn't look it. She portrayed someone of Turkic descent. She often twisted her long, black hair, combed smoothly and braided, twisted into a knot at the back of her head. Her black luminous eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, and oval-shaped face expressed wisdom and modesty – virtues core to our identity. Indeed, she was carried herself with grace. Once, I took her to visit Chingiz Torekulovich Ait-

⁵ According to the Kyrgyz nomadic tradition, when the eldest sons create their own family, the parents give each of them their *ençi*, i.e., entitled share, gift. The expression *ençilep berüü* means "allocating/giving a share or gift". This tradition is also practiced toward the grandchildren born from married daughters. Usually, maternal grandparents (*tayata* and *tayene*) give a yearling (*tai*), sheep or lamb to their grandchildren.

matov (1928–2008) at home in Bishkek.⁶ I introduced her as a German Turkologist, who came from the United States. He greeted her before addressing me, “and here I thought you found your *Tayeje*.”⁷

We confessed that outwardly, she did not look like a German and asked why that was. To that, she shared the following story.

There lived a khan of the Golden Horde – Toktomush was the name. He lived in the first half of the fifteenth century and was a descendant of Jochi Khan. He led his people to many victories and experienced defeats in his fight against neighboring states. In one of the battles, he suffered a heavy defeat from Russian troops and was forced to seek asylum from the Lithuanian king. The king offered him available land in a forested area. Toktomush’s warriors began to live in these forests and gradually assimilated into the local population, and their last names eventually merged with Lithuanian family names. It is known that one of Lithuania’s ministers of education descended from this tribe. My own mother’s maiden, Pilkauskas, resembled the last name of this minister. It is possible that I am a descendant of these people and after many generations, the genes of the warriors of Toktomush are expressed in me.

“So, then you are our relative,” we replied jokingly, referring to the fact that our mother was also a descendant of Jochi Khan. How the fate of people and nations could be so intertwined

I remember how Ilse Ayım and Chingiz Torekulovich spoke about the fate of the Turkic peoples in the new era after the collapse of the USSR, about what had to be done so that the process of establishing young post-Soviet states would be successful and painless for the everyday person. Ilse Ayım responded to this question as a participant in the second Issyk-Kul forum in Bishkek in 1997.⁸

This is how we became friends with Ilse Ayım. I even took her to Talas to meet my relatives in Sheker, a quaint village in the northwest of Kyrgyzstan that served as our ancestral homeland. She expressed effusive interest in seeing where we came from. Along the way, she invited me to Seattle to give lectures on Kyrgyzstan, in particular

⁶ Aitmatov was one of the most-accomplished literary figures of the Turkic world. Aitmatov first started writing short stories in the 1950s for the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* before moving to novellas in the 1960s. By the 1970s he had represented the Soviet Union as a goodwill ambassador touring the United States and debuting his play, *The Ascent of Mount Fuji*. By the 1980s Aitmatov began writing long-form novels and later served the Soviet Union, Russia, and Kyrgyzstan as ambassador. Laude-Cirtautas, since 1996, had devoted entire courses to Chingiz Aitmatov, “to give an understanding of Chingiz Aitmatov’s life and work,” she wrote, adding Aitmatov had followed in the tradition of early Turkic oral poets, as “he also aspired to be a scholar, a public servant, a diplomat and a teacher.” Quotes taken from her Spring Quarter 2013 course outline for “The Kyrgyz Writer Chingiz Aitmatov (1928–2008) in Central Asian and Global Context”.

⁷ *Tayeje* means maternal aunt in Kyrgyz.

⁸ Laude-Cirtautas spoke of her impressions of the Issyk-Kul Forum a few months later, in November of 1997 as a seminar discussion hosted by the Central Asian Studies Group at University of Washington.

about Ata-Beyit.⁹ I even substituted for Elmira Köchümkulova, an exchange student from Kyrgyzstan teaching Kyrgyz language at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of University of Washington, as Köchümkulova was reciting parts of the *Manas* epic at a festival for folklore performers of her people off campus.¹⁰ This was my first trip to the USA; everything was interesting to me. I remember those times we kept in touch, exchanging our views on the current situation in Kyrgyzstan. Ilse Ayım sincerely worried about the Kyrgyz and reassured us by calling this time a transitional period, and that in the future Kyrgyz people would achieve greater success – for our traditions are commendable and our people kind. My generation was still relatively young during that first decade after the Soviet collapse and believed in a bright future for our new sovereign state. When I compare those hopes with the current state of our society, with how the first and subsequent leaders understood and treated the creation and formation of the long-awaited people's government, how they put their own personal interests above the nation's interests, a heavy feeling of disappointment weighs on my soul.

And yet, hope dies last, they say. I want to hope that we will overcome and become one of the most successful governments. Ilse Ayım instilled such hopes in me. Let the Earth be weightless for you, Ilse Ayım!¹¹

9 Ata-Beyit is a memorial complex located on the outskirts of Bishkek, in Çoñtaş. Meaning the “grave of our fathers”, the memorial complex was revealed in 1991 to have buried 138 victims of the 1938 Stalinist purges within a secret mass grave. Among those killed was Aitmatov and Aitmatova's father, Törökül. Chingiz Aitmatov is now also buried at Ata-Beyit.

10 The festival, Northwest Folklife Festival, was held in May 1997 in Seattle. While there, Elmira Köchümkulova, a former student of Laude-Cirtautas, not only recited verses from the *Manas* epic but also sang and played the *komuz* (three-stringed instrument). See *The Near East Reports* . . . 10 (Summer 1997), 8.

11 Taken from the Russian, *pust' zemlya ej budet puxom*, this phrase is used to express farewell wishes to the deceased upon passing.

Remembering Ilse Xonim (1926–2019)

Muhammad Ali

There are extraordinary people who demonstrate remarkable perseverance, diligence and unyielding dedication to their pursuits in life.¹² One such person was Professor Emerita Ilse Laude-Cirautas *Xonim*,¹³ a dear friend of Uzbek literature and an instrumental contributor to the recognition of our culture, art and language in the United States of America. In Uzbek we simply addressed her as “Ilse Xonim”, or we even took her closer to our hearts by calling her *Opa*.¹⁴ The professor was pleased by this gesture.

In 1989 the Uzbek Translation Center in Tashkent held an important event, i.e., *International Seminar of Foreign Translators of Uzbek Literature* from October 1st–10th. Translators and scholars from the United States, United Kingdom, Finland, Russia and Kazakhstan were invited to the workshop. Usually, there were no Russian–Uzbek literary translators, and those like Sergei Ivanov,¹⁵ who was fluent in Uzbek, were rare. However, at the event, it turned out that most of our guests were familiar with the Uzbek language. Among the guests stood Ilse Xonim. I had never met her prior to this event.

As guests for the event began arriving in Tashkent, Uzbek writer Erkin Vohidov (1936–2016) and I went to the airport to welcome Ilse Xonim.¹⁶ Apparently, she had a stopover in Almaty enroute to Tashkent after flying from Frankfurt. While we waited for the guest, Erkin *aka* shared some of his impressions from a recent trip to Seattle,¹⁷ where he had met Ilse Xonim. We heard an announcement that the plane from Almaty landed.

¹² Muhammad Ali (1942–), a distinguished Uzbek poet, writer and historian, was a close friend of Ilse Laude-Cirautas. In her article on the writer, Laude-Cirautas declares he “holds a special place in contemporary Uzbek literature. . . . not only as a poet and writer, but also as an active public servant, teacher and scholar.” See Laude-Cirautas, “Muhammad Ali (1942–): An Uzbek Poet, Writer and Scholar,” *Journal of Central and Inner Asian Dialogue* 1 (Summer 2013): 32–47.

¹³ A term of respect used for a woman of high position or rank. A literary translation: “My Queen.”

¹⁴ Translation: older sister; mother. A term of respect used for an older female person than the speaker.

¹⁵ Ivanov (1922–1999) was a prominent scholar of Turkic and Slavic literary work. He is credited as having translated into Russian the eleventh-century-CE monumental work *Kutadgu bilig* from Middle Turkic.

¹⁶ Erkin Vohidov (1936–2016) was a prominent poet and writer. He along with other poets of Uzbekistan visited University of Washington. Laude-Cirautas translated the poet’s “Ilse xonim” (“Lady Ilse”) into English in 2014. The poem, Laude-Cirautas once explained, helped secure Uzbek language as the state language of Uzbekistan. See Ilse Laude-Cirautas, “Uzbek Poets in Seattle: Muhammad Ali, Abdulla Oripov and Erkin Vohidov” (unpublished manuscript, 2014), Microsoft Word file.

¹⁷ Translation: older brother. A term of respect used for an older male person than the speaker.

The guest appeared nothing like had I expected. Ilse Xonim looked more like a modern Uzbek woman from Marghilan than an American one.¹⁸ She had a graceful face with dark eyebrows and hair. When Erkin aka and I took the professor to the *Oloy Bozori*,¹⁹ Uzbek sellers were certain Ilse Xonim was Uzbek.²⁰ They admired how clearly and politely she spoke in Uzbek.

"This person is from America, Professor Ilse Xonim of the University of Washington," we proudly declared to a curious florist lady.

"No way, Sister!" The florist burst out laughing. Of course, she did not believe us.

Translators of Uzbek literature such as English scholars Shirin Akiner and James Gibson, Finnish Yukka Mallinen, Russian Alexei Parshchikov and Kazakh Zulkaynar Sakiev, among others, participated in the seminar; a treasured translator and supporter of Uzbek literature Irfan Nasriddin Oglu of Turkey could not join us due to some reason or another.

The opening of the seminar took place at the Hamid Olimjon House of Writers of the Writers' Union.²¹ For ten days, several meetings were held, and among them the one held at Tashkent State University was the zenith of all.²² Ilse Xonim tirelessly participated at every meeting.

Coincidentally, Uzbekistan was commemorating the 95th anniversary of the birth of Uzbek writer Abdulla Qodiriy (1894–1938),²³ with an event being held at the writer's house. Everyone explored the house, porch and garden that the writer built with his own hands. Ilse Xonim, familiar with Qodiriy, expressed her admiration for the writer's character and creativity during the seminar.

I accompanied Ilse Xonim during her ten-day trip. Many writers invited her to their homes for, at least, a cup of tea. At those informal meetings, we discussed Uzbek literature, language, culture and the development of scholarly relations. The gatherings took place at the houses of Uzbek writers Ozod Sharafiddinov (1929–2005),²⁴ Vohidov,

18 A city in Ferghana Valley, Uzbekistan.

19 A large outdoor food market in Tashkent, well-known by tourists.

20 The author is alluding to the fact that the professor's appearance resembled locals Uzbeks.

21 Hamid Olimjon (1909–1944) was a pioneer of early Soviet Uzbek poetry. In the West, he and his contributions are known in large part because of Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, who taught of his life and works to her students.

22 Present-day National University of Uzbekistan.

23 Abdulla Qodiriy is considered as the founder of the Uzbek novel, with his own work *O'tkan kunlar* (Bygone days) being the first Uzbek novel. Laude-Cirtautas credits him as one of less than a handful of writers who helped introduce Uzbek literary language (*hozirgi Ўzbek adabi tili*) from their distinct spoken dialects, distinct from the Chagatai, Old Uzbek. See Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, "On the Development of Literary Uzbek in the Last Fifty Years," *Central Asiatic Journal* 21, no. 1 (1977): 36–51.

24 Sharafiddinov was a major Uzbek literary critic who worked to promote Uzbek literature. His more recent works, before his passing in 2005, included biographies and historical novels, writing on Uzbek pioneering authors and poets in *Istiqlal fidoylari* (Defenders of independence).

Shukrullo (1921–2020),²⁵ Pirimqul Qodirov (1928–2010),²⁶ in addition to Gʻafur Gʻulom (1903–1966) and Abdulla Qahhor's (1907–1968) house-museums,²⁷ where their daughters Kibriyo Xonim and Olmos Xonim joined us too.²⁸ The conversations were lively and heartfelt.

Ilse Xonim collected several Uzbek books, newspapers and magazines during her trip. On another note, those were crucial days in our history: Uzbek was declared as the state language at that time. Ilse Xonim expressed support of this milestone in interviews she gave in the press, on the radio and television. She felt honored to be in Uzbekistan those days, she said. I fathomed the reason behind the professor's joy later. Ilse Xonim had shown herself as a passionate scholar, dedicating her entire life to the recognition and development of Uzbek and other Turkic languages. She visited my house before her departure to the United States. Manzura Xonim and I were honored and overjoyed. Our children, Nargiza, Nodira, Dilbar, Aziza and especially Komron, quickly surrounded the professor as soon as she arrived. The youngsters did not move a step away from her. Ilse

25 Shukrullo, according to Laude-Cirtautas, “published his first major work entitled *Chollar* (Elders) in 1948.” Shukrullo's memoirs were translated into German and published in 2005. William Dirks translated the first chapter of Shukrullo's works into English 1996 for *World Literature Today*, according to Laude-Cirtautas. See Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, “Elders in Uzbek Society and Literature: A Contribution to Uzbekistan's Year of Respect for the Elders 2015,” *Journal of Central and Inner Asian Dialog* 2 (Winter 2015): 25–39. In 1991, Shukrullo participated in a panel discussion at University of Washington and in the 1991 Summer Uzbek Language Program, organized by Laude-Cirtautas. See “Departmental Events,” *The Near East Reports* . . . 4/5 (March 1992): 10–11.

26 Much like Shukrullo, Pirimqul Qodirov, a historian and writer, participated in the Summer Uzbek Language Program at University of Washington in 1991. See “Departmental Events,” *The Near East Reports* . . . 4/5 (March 1992): 10–11.

Laude-Cirtautas referred to Qodirov as “Pirimqul aka,” adding upon his passing in 2010, how he “will always be remembered in Seattle as well as in Uzbekistan as a caring teacher, a modest and sincere person”. See Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, “In Memoriam: Pirimqul Qodirov (1928–2010),” *JCIAD News* 1 (Summer 2011): 17.

27 Abdulla Qahhor was a major literary figure of Uzbekistan. He published his first poem in 1924, and twelve years later he published his first novel. Laude-Cirtautas writes that he “became the revered teacher” of many Uzbek writers. Laude-Cirtautas lauds Qahhor for “the clarity of the language and the brevity of the style,” his writings demonstrated. Quotes taken from Laude-Cirtautas's unpublished article “Abdulla Qahhor (1907–1968) and the Uzbek Short Story,” Microsoft Word file.

28 Ilse Laude-Cirtautas cites Ozod Sharafiddinov to describe Gʻulom, poet and author, as “*uning tom maʼnodagi oʻzbek boʻlganini alohida taʼkidlash kerak*” . . . (one should stress that he has been an Uzbek in the full meaning), i.e., ‘he was generous, hospitable, kind, devoted to children, family, courageous, and honest’. See Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, “Central Asian Turkic Elders: Past and Present,” *Journal of Central and Inner Asian Dialog* 2 (Winter 2015), 1–24. Laude-Cirtautas mentions Abdulla Qahhor as one of a handful of Uzbek literary figures of the early twentieth century that guided the Uzbek literary language. He used his works as a platform to promote Uzbek language and, according to Laude-Cirtautas, “saturated the habit of certain people who forget their normal speech and adopt an official language”. See Laude-Cirtautas, “On the Development of Literary Uzbek”.

Xonim, in return, did not shy away from talking with them either. She did not ignore any of their questions and carefully listened.

"Next year," said Ilse Xonim. "I would like to invite you to participate in our Summer Program.²⁹ Would you be interested?"

I was overwhelmed by the offer and expressed my gratitude. I was able to travel to America only after two years, not in a year as the professor had offered.

Ilse Xonim lived in a picturesque apartment building located along 35th Avenue NE in the beautiful city of Seattle. It felt as if I walked into my own place when I took my first step inside the professor's house. Silk xon-atlas³⁰ curtains were hanging on the doors; Central Asian landscapes decorated the walls, porcelain teapots and bowls with cotton flower-patterns sat on a console table, and a *dutor*³¹ was hanging on the wall. An Uzbek melody was playing on a tape-recorder. I thought to myself, "An Uzbek and Asian atmosphere must have been created in honor of me as a guest." Later I realized this was the everyday life of an "offspring of the Golden Horde and To'xtamishxon's descendant".³² Much later, back in Tashkent, during a random conversation on Central Asian history, Ilse Xonim had mentioned she descended from the Golden Horde, a descendant of To'xtamishxon. "Kazakh friends are fond of calling me this way." I looked into Ilse Xonim's smiling eyes and realized she was serious when she said those words. Passion for the East, i.e., Turkestan, was the essence of the professor's life.

Ilse Xonim possessed remarkable knowledge of ancient and recent history of Uzbekistan. She could talk on this topic for hours. A few times, I inquired about her background, but as far as I understood, she did not like the subject. Instead, she would smile and say, "This is not useful for anything, though." Nevertheless, I managed to acquire some information from the professor.

Ilse Xonim was originally a linguist. She defended her doctoral dissertation on the topic, titled *Der Gebrauch der Farbbezeichnungen in den Türkdialekten*, at the Hamburg University in 1958. During the writing process, she conducted scrupulous research on both the history and literature of Turkic languages. When she immigrated to the United States in 1959, she had already become an established Turkologist. Initially, she worked at a college in Dallas, Pennsylvania, and later at Indiana University in Bloomington. At the latter she taught Uzbek and ancient Turkic to American students. This was thir-

²⁹ In 1989, Laude-Cirtautas organized the first Uzbek Language Program in 1989. The program, by 1991, expanded to the Summer Program and included courses in Kazakh and Tajik, and later Kyrgyz. At the core of the learning experience for students were opportunities to engage invited writers of the newly independent republics of Central Asia. Laude-Cirtautas felt that "poets and writers . . . were the only ones who had been able to cultivate native languages throughout the period of Russian/Soviet colonialism," thereby the best to teach their languages. See Alva Robinson, "Central and Inner Asian Studies at the University of Washington: Continuing the Legacy: A Look Back at the History of the Central Asian Studies Program at the UW," *JCIAD News* 2, no. 1 (2014/2015), 3–6.

³⁰ A high quality type of Uzbek ikat fabric.

³¹ A Central Asian (and Persian) wooden two-stringed and long-necked musical instrument.

³² A prominent Chinggisid ruler, (1342–1406).

ty-five years ago, i.e., when the Uzbek language was completely trapped within four dark walls, humiliated and its wings crippled. During this period, Ilse Xonim's respect for our language grew stronger. While there was no Uzbek language group or course in Moscow, which had been Uzbekistan's capital for seventy years, in the United States, our language was respected, and not only Uzbek, but other Central Asian languages, such as Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Tajik, received similar attention due to the professor's efforts.

In 1968, Nicholas Poppe invited Ilse Xonim to the University of Washington in Seattle, where she worked at the Department of Asian Languages and Literatures. Between 1980 and 1982, she worked at the University of Bonn, Germany. The professor was appointed as chair (1987) of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization at the University of Washington. Ilse Xonim also served as the director of the Central Asian Languages and Cultures Studies Summer Program.

The professor's endeavors in literary translation are noteworthy. In 1984 she translated forty-seven Uzbek folk tales into German. This beautifully decorated 276-page book, entitled *Märchen der Usbeken* was published by the Aygen Didrix Verlag Publishing House in Cologne under the series titled *Fairy Tales of The Silk Road*, which previously published fairy tales of the peoples of South China, the Caucasus and Pamirs. The book contains wonderful tales such as the *Kenja botir*, *Qilich Qora*, *Tohir va Zuhra*, *Zorliq va Mungliq*, and ancient heroic epic songs *Go'ro'g'li* and *Torabek Xonim*. The translation included endnotes with detailed comments and was warmly received by German readers; in 1986, the translation was reprinted for a second time.

In 1980 Ilse Xonim compiled a selection of passages, i.e., *Chrestomathy of Modern Literary Uzbek* for American students learning Uzbek language. The book was published in Wiesbaden, Germany. The 254-page collection included short-stories by Uzbek writers Oybek (1904–1968), G'afur G'ulom, Abdulla Qahhor, Said Ahmad (1920–2007),³³ O'lmas Umarbekov (1934–1994) and others.³⁴ The copies of the original works were provided along with detailed explanations and translations of several Uzbek idiomatic combinations and phrases. The glossary added a tremendous value to the chrestomathy. This is still an excellent source for anyone who intends to get familiar with contemporary Uzbek literature and language. The result of this painstaking work was received well by experts like Uzbek scholar Khairulla Ismatullayev (1937–2008), who was a professor at Indiana University. In his informative article entitled *Learning Uzbek in the United*

³³ Said Ahmad was a prose writer, who got his start working for magazines, newspapers and journals. Ahmad, a recipient of the prestigious People's writer of Uzbekistan" title, is known for his short stories and novels, and was honored for his contributions to Uzbekistan's independence. His latter works focused on his memories with early twentieth-century Uzbek writers, such as Abdulla Qodiriy and G'afur G'ulom.

³⁴ Ilse Laude-Cirtautas mentions Omarbekov, who published his first book, *Hikoyalar* (Stories), in 1958, as part of a generation of poets and writers from the 1960s—which includes the author of this testimonial, that ushered in Uzbekistan independence in 1991. See Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, "Muhammad Ali (1942–): An Uzbek Poet, Writer and Scholar," *Journal of Central and Inner Asian Dialogue* 1 (Summer 2013), 32–47.

States, he wrote the following: “Up to this day, the *Chrestomathy of Modern Literary Uzbek* is the most objective source for language learners in the United States. This is a fantastic guide.”

Furthermore, Ilse Xonim published articles on various topics. Her educational articles present a perspective on Uzbek cultural life, Uzbek family relations, the lives of Uzbeks of Afghanistan and pre-Islamic Uzbek traditions.

The professor had a wide range of interests. In particular, she would scrupulously study any materials related to *jadidism* and *basmachilik*.³⁵ I was convinced of this when I saw Begali Qosimov’s (1942–2004) article entitled, “Jadidchilik” (Jadidism) and Abduqahhor Ibragimov’s (1939–) articles on Ilse Xonim’s desk.³⁶ The professor believed it was necessary to translate materials alike, so that the rest of the world would be truthfully informed.

Ilse Xonim admired the poems of playwright, writer and reformer Abdulhamid Choʻlpon (1898–1938).³⁷ On August 11, 1992, I presented a lecture entitled “The Formation of a National Identity” in Uzbek Literature in Smith Hall at the University of Washington. Our Uzbek students, and the ones from other departments, and professors filled the hall. Ilse Xonim consecutively translated my lecture into English. The two-hour lecture also focused on Choʻlpon’s works. When Ilse Xonim read her translation of the latter’s poem entitled “Men va boshqalar” (I and the others), the entire audience was moved by the poem.³⁸

The professor was interested in folklore, too. She always passionately spoke about the *Alpomish* epic song.³⁹ “The peoples of Central Asia have one culture which should be studied comparatively,” Ilse Xonim stated one day. “And, *Alpomish* has an important place among the epics of the peoples of the world. I value it so much.”

“You are very well familiar with epics of the Turkic peoples,” I said to her one day. “For example, *Alpomish* is available in all Central Asian Turkic languages. Which version of the epic do you think is ideal?”

35 Central Asian Muslim anti-Russia movement. The pejorative term *basmachilik* (translation: pillaging) was widely used by Russian scholars to denote anti-Russian rebels as bandits and counterrevolutionaries.

36 Ibragimov began writing in the 1960s, having published as an author, journalist and playwright. For a short period, after Uzbekistan’s independence, Ibragimov served as an advisor to the president of Uzbekistan.

37 Cholpon is one of the most-prominent literary figure to have emerged in the twentieth century. His 1938 novel, *Kecha va kunduz* (*Night and Day*), criticized the colonial rule of Russia and the Soviet Union. Ilse Laude-Cirtautas calls Cholpon the “most influential and courageous poet” of his period and writes, “He felt obligated as a poet to be a spokesperson for his people, disregarding any dangers”. See “Turkic Poetry,” *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Fourth Edition (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1466–1469. Cholpon ended up .

38 The professor translated several poems by contemporary Uzbek poets Vohidov and Abdulla Oripov (1941–2016). There are also a couple of translations from my poems.

39 A renowned Central Asian Turkic heroic epic song, which was censored during the Soviet regime.

“Undoubtedly, Fozil Yoʻldosh oʻgʻli’s version is the best one.”⁴⁰ It should be thoroughly studied,” she responded.

The teaching pursuits of Ilse Xonim were remarkable too. Although Uzbek language was taught at the University of Washington throughout the year, she was not fully content with this. In 1989 the professor organized the Summer Program to teach Central Asian languages and cultures. She invited native speakers from each country. The instructors were well-known scholars, writers and poets. Authors Vohidov, Kadirov, Shukrullo from Uzbekistan, Rahmonqul Berdiboy and Abdugani Jiyanboy from Kazakhstan, as well as Bozor Sabir and Gulruksor Safieva from Tajikistan taught at the language teaching program.

In April of 1995, when Ilse Xonim visited Tashkent again, she and I had a lively discussion on Uzbek TV. In addition to the show, a cultural program prepared, in Uzbek, by our American students was aired. The professor spoke fluent Uzbek. In a conversation that day she mentioned, “Sometimes when I speak, Uzbek, Kazakh and Kyrgyz pronunciations are mixed. Yes, I speak Turkestan.” She laughed. This was quite understandable. Ilse Xonim was a devotee of Turkestan’s languages. I still remember the speech she gave in 1991 at a major conference commemorating the 550th anniversary of Alisher Navaʼi’s (1441–1501) birth.⁴¹ She delivered it in literary Uzbek.

Also, the year of 1995 marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of Tashkent State University. Good news awaited Ilse Xonim, as she was invited to a special ceremony awarding her the title of Honorary Doctor of Tashkent State University of Uzbekistan.

Ilse Xonim periodically published articles in the Uzbek press. In 2012 and 2015, respectively, two of her last articles entitled, “Muhammad Ali (1942–): Uzbek Poet, Writer and Scholar,” and “Elders in Uzbek Society and Literature” were translated and published in Uzbek newspapers.

The renowned professor had many friends in Uzbekistan. Uzbek people esteemed her, and their doors were always open for Opa. She always stayed at my house every time she visited Tashkent. Moreover, Opa was like an older sister figure to my late wife, Manzura Khonim (1952–2015). They always had sincere conversations. My five children, who always fluttered like butterflies around Ilse Xonim, admired and respected her too. They addressed her with the Uzbek kinship term of endearment *Opa*. Those days are now history.

The bright memory of Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, Professor Emerita, a loyal friend of Uzbekistan, tireless supporter of Uzbek language, literature and culture, will remain forever in our hearts.

⁴⁰ Fozil Yoʻldosh Oʻgʻli (1872–1955), an oral poet, was a reciter of the epic poem Alpomish. Uzbek scholar Gʻozi Olim Yunus (1887–1938), according to Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, “wrote down parts of the epic,” sung by Yoʻldosh Oʻgʻli. Unfortunately, only “parts of his field records” survived and were subsequently published in text form in his *Bilim oʻchigʻi* in 1923.

⁴¹ A prominent Central Asian Turkic Sufi poet, statesman and humanitarian.

Ilse Opa

Azamat Sadykov

Back in 2014 in Bishkek,⁴² Alva Robinson asked me to write a short article to be published within the academic newsletter *JCIAD News* on my understanding of the wisdom-word traditions with which I grew up.⁴³ Only eighteen years old at the time and still a freshman studying at the Kyrgyz-Slavic University, in the capital of Kyrgyzstan, I was hesitant about my own ability to complete such an intimidating project. I forged ahead anyway. Alva reminded me of the words of advice he was given by his own professor, who founded the publication for which I was writing: “Finish what you start”; and “In whatever you do, do your best”.

Suffering from writer’s block, I took the professor’s advice, who in her wisdom also recommended I consult the works of the late Kyrgyz writer Chingiz Aitmatov and to speak with living Kyrgyz writers and my own mother. Following her recommendation, I ended up with a thorough yet concise write-up of my own perspective on the wisdom words I learned as a child. A few days after having submitted my final draft, I received an email sharing her kind words and praises. She had deemed the article as very well-written and called me as “our intelligent young Kyrgyz”.⁴⁴ She expressed her enthusiasm for us to come together “for some ongoing work” in the future before signing out the email with “*opa*” (mother).

I felt as though the wise words she shared bound her and me together. “The greetings and responses we spoke”, just as I had written in that article for *JCIAD News*, “connected us to one another by . . . acting as well-wishes given”. Her proverbial words seemed to herald in a larger plan. A couple of years later, in 2015, I moved to Seattle, Washington, to embark on my undergraduate journey. The choice to study in Seattle was born from the strong encouragement I had received from this professor, who so often closed her emails with *opa*, and who was formally known as Dr. Ilse Laude-Cirtautas.

Almost immediately after settling down in Seattle, I reached out to Ilse opa. She arranged for us to meet at a Starbucks across the street from where she was living. I remember her fondly in those first moments of meeting her. She was well-dressed and carried herself with grace. She spoke softly and smiled sincerely, asking from her heart how I was, as if wishing me well in the same breath. Over hot tea, I intently listened to her speak, for I’ve never seen an elder like her in the States act with the nobleness of those elders of Kyrgyzstan. She reminded me of home.

⁴² Although I never studied in one of Ilse opa’s classes, Ilse opa considered me as one of her students. Alva Robinson asked me to contribute my remembrances of her as her last student.

⁴³ *JCIAD News* is the newsletter supporting the *Journal of Central and Inner Asian Dialogue* Ilse opa had put together to help students and scholars of Central Asia publish their research within comparative Turkic studies.

⁴⁴ Email correspondence between Ilse opa and Alva Robinson.

After an hour of talking, it was time for me to leave. As we made our way outside, I offered to drive her across the street. She agreed, and I walked her over to the SUV I was driving, opened the passenger door and helped her in. A few moments later, after we arrived in front of her home, and after I helped her out, she asked me to visit her house every week as I could and bid me farewell, calling me for the first time, “Azamat *jon*”.⁴⁵

So, after school, every Tuesday and Friday, I would stop by her apartment, where we would sip tea on her patio, overlooking a beautiful view of the city, and talk about Central Asia. I vividly remember one conversation in which she asked me, “What do you answer people when asked ‘where are you from?’” To this I simply replied, “I am from Kyrgyzstan.” Without hesitation, she corrected and advised me to represent my country by lifting my head up and declaring, “I am from Kyrgyzstan, the land where men know how to ride horses.” She did more than just teach me how to be proud of the land I came from. She reminded me also to respect my elders and the language of my forefathers.

My visits with Ilse opa became quite regular, sometimes twice a week. When I was there, we talked about everything. After each visit, she would fill the best plastic bag she could find with fruit, biscuits and other snacks for me take home. I never left her place without having been fed and cared for. Her generosity was immense, and she took it upon herself to teach me the true value of education. “It’s not a business,” she would say, and cannot be bought.

So much did Ilse opa look out for me. She even offered to pay me to work on *Journal of Central and Inner Asian Dialogue (JCIAD)* as an advisor. For an undergraduate student, this was no small deal. I considered the offer with great pride and looked forward to helping the journal as I could. I knew through that experience Ilse opa was preparing me for a strong future, and as she did that, I felt watched over by her. In this new, unfamiliar place – in this new city, in this new country – half the world away from mine, I believed – as she was demonstrating – that I, too, could contribute great things, and to this day I am most grateful for her having instilled this in me.

Being in such a large country as the United States, and as young as I was, it wouldn’t be implausible for me to succumb to self-doubt and feel smaller than I was, but Ilse opa made great efforts to have me feel like a giant. As important as she made me feel, I know now she had the same effect on others, as I would eventually see.

In 2016, during the annual Nooruz celebration hosted by the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association, at North Seattle College,⁴⁶ I witnessed firsthand the immensity of her

⁴⁵ *Jon*, Kyrgyz *jan*, Kazakh *zhan*, in the Central Asian Turkic languages, means *dear*. In Uzbek, as in the sense Ilse opa used to say it, has a very nurturing connotation, especially when said to someone of a younger age.

⁴⁶ Ilse opa had, in 1972, pioneered the founding of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association in 1972, after having met with locals in Tashkent in May of that year. Ilse opa had always felt the Seattle-Tashkent City Association served a very critical role toward Uzbekistan’s independence. “Behind the seriousness of their answers, there certainly must have been a plan they had in mind for the future of Uzbekistan”,

presence among the Central Asian communities in Seattle. She stood larger than life. And after having seen the way people huddled around her and ingratiated themselves to her, I knew she had impacted their lives. This, however, goes without saying, as it was from her lifetime dedication to Central Asians that entire communities in Seattle sprung up. At the celebration, crowds of Kyrgyz, Kazakhs and Uzbeks – hundreds upon hundreds it seemed – had come together. A stage at the center of a large cafeteria-like space transformed into a congregating point for dancers, singers, poetry-reciters and musicians. But all of that seemed to be just background fodder for the evening. This was especially true the moment Ilse opa entered the room. Conversations stopped midsentence, as people begun to fixate their attention on her. They rushed and stumbled over one another, waiting to welcome her; to walk her to a most-suitable seat of honor; to extend a kind word, even if to receive in return only a brief well-wish from her.⁴⁷

I too cherished her blessings, and once I understood the source of the commotion, I decided to make my way through the surrounding throngs of people and greet Ilse opa. I congratulated her on the holiday, and after asking how she was, I sensed that she felt uncomfortable by everyone's attention on her; for she clasped my hand more firmly than usual, stood up and remarked the night was growing late and she should be heading back home. Upon hearing this, everyone clamored in their offerings to be of some service to her. At this, she pointed at me and declared, "No, Azamat *jon* here will take me."

I've never in my life felt so honored to be asked to carry out such a mundane task. There, in that moment, someone I learned to revere for her wisdom and generosity, for her exemplary life of sacrifice, continued with great effort to extend my way words of well-wishes and blessings.

she wrote in "Memories of Tashkent 1972 and the Start of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Relationship" for the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies' Ellison Center's news page in 2013.

⁴⁷ This episode with Ilse opa reflects the culture of the people she worked with together with, with the utmost joy, throughout her career. In her article, "Blessings and Curses in Kazakh and Kirghiz," in *Central Asiatic Journal* 18, no 1 (1974), Ilse opa observed that of the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, the elders' "blessings are considered to be more effective and beneficial, and therefore they are expected to pronounce them," with great care. Ilse opa seemed to have adhered to this tradition.

Il'za Xonim (1989)

Erkin Vohidov

Ona tilim!⁴⁸

Mehring bu qadar

Aziz ekan dilu jonimga.

Asir bol'ib lolu musahhar

Termulaman Il'za xonimga.

Termulaman Il'za xonimga

Ko'zlarimga ishonmay hayron.

Amriqolik xushro'y olim

So'zlar edi o'zbekcha ravon.

“Siettlga xush kelibsizlar

Olis yurtidan yo'l bosib yiroq.

Tanishlar, bu yigit, qizlar

O'zbekchadan olmoqda saboq . . .”

Dasturxonda parvarda, pashmak,

Xandon pista, qip-qizil shirmoy.

Atlas kiygan suluv kelinchak

Odob bilan uzatar ko'k choy.

Men es-hushim yig'masdan hali

Qulog'imga dilbar kuy yetdi.

Nakamuri – yapon go'zali

“Tanovar”ga charx urib ketdi.

Ona yurtim!

Mehring bu qadar

Aziz ekan dilu jonimga.

Termulgancha lolu masahhar

So'z aytaman Il'za xonimga.

Ming tashakkur o'zbek elidan,

Yashang, dunyo turguncha turing.

Iltimosim, shogirdlar bilan

Diyorimga tashrif buyuring.

48 Composed by Erkin Vohidov (1936-), who first arrived in Seattle in 1989, for the purpose of making a documentary of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association. The poem, according to Laude-Cirtautas, places great importance on the Uzbek language, and how it “is not just spoken within but also outside of Uzbekistan and therefore deserves to be recognized as Uzbekistan’s state language.” The poem is one of a many by Vohidov and his contemporaries of Uzbekistan Muhammad Ali and Abdulla Oripov that Laude-Cirtautas translated and compiled into a yet-to-be published manuscript entitled “Uzbek Poets in Seattle: Muhammad Ali, Abdulla Oripov and Erkin Vohidov: Selections of Their Poetry with English Translations” (2014).

Keling, sizni ona yurt uchun
 Fidolar bir tinglab quvonsin.
 Bu quvonchdan lekin bir umr
 Judolar ham tinglasin, yonsin.

O'z elati mehridan dilin
 Yot tutganlar sizni eshitsin.
 O'z yurtida o'z ona tilin
 Unutganlar sizni eshitsin.

Ilse *xonim* (Lady Ilse)

My Mother Tongue!
 Your love is so dear to my heart and soul!
 Captivated, speechless and mute
 I gaze at Ilse *xonim*.

I gaze at Ilse *xonim*,
 Not believing my eyes.
 A beautiful American scholar
 Was speaking eloquently Uzbek.

"Welcome to Seattle you all,
 Coming from a distant country,
 Here these young men and girls
 Are studying Uzbek . . .

On the table all kinds of sweets,
 Nuts and flat breads,
 A beautiful girl dressed in atlas silk
 Graciously offers green tea.

Thousand thanks
 From the Uzbek people!
 Live long, as long as the
 World surrounds you,
 My wish, do come with
 Your students to my country!

Please do come, may those who sacrificed
 Themselves for their country rejoice,
 And those who have been deprived of this
 Joy, they should listen too, burning inside.

Those who kept themselves estranged
 From the love and heart of their own people,
 Those who forgot their mother tongue
 In their own country, they should listen to you!

Testimonials

Imagine being a twenty-year-old from Kazakhstan who had never been elsewhere turning up on the other side of the world in Seattle, Washington. That was part of the shock I experienced in 2010 when I first started at University of Washington as an undergraduate student. Everything felt so alien and different: the language, the people, the place and certainly the food. Nobody knew me or where I had come from, and among all this turmoil of newness, however, I had the good fortune of being introduced a singular person that gave me that sense of home. That was Ilse *apa*. I still remember her gentle and welcoming eyes. It reminded me of my grandmother meeting me after being away for such a long journey. Everything about Ilse *apa* gave me a sense of home: her name (Ilse *apa* in Kazakh means “grandma Ilse”), her deep understanding about my people and culture, and her attitude toward me. With her, I stopped feeling like an alien in a new place and felt right at home.

—Aidos Aikhojayev, Cybersecurity Specialist, Cisco Systems, Singapore

Professor Ilse Cirtautas, “*opa*”, would arrive to her office at University of Washington’s Denny Hall at seven every morning and take the bus back home twelve hours later at around seven in the evening. I would accompany her and help carry her bag filled with books when I stayed with her during my studies at the University of Washington. If weather permitted, we would go to campus on Saturdays, too. Ilse *opa* always exercised on her balcony in the mornings, never missing a day. She always had beautiful flowers outside of her door and watered them regularly. Her condo was decorated with colorful Kazakh and Kyrgyz felt rugs, Central Asian musical instruments, Uzbek souvenirs and paintings. She taught me the importance of studying Central Asian Turkic literature and history comparatively, and to think critically, which was not taught during the Soviet times. I still remember her words very well: “You need to read between the lines and analyze it once more.”

—Dilbar Akhmedova, former student, Tashkent

With warmth in my heart, I always remember Ilse *apa* and her genuine smile and wisdom. I had the good fortune to experience some of her legacy while I was taking one of her courses as an undergraduate at University of Washington more than a decade ago. She was teaching a course about Central Asian cultures and traditions, but I can’t exactly remember the topic of the day. I just recall being asked about retirement homes in Kazakhstan. Being from a country that was part of the Soviet Union, we adopted some of the experiences that were more common with our neighbor to the north, and retirement homes was one of them. After hearing this, Ilse *apa* voiced her frustration and said to me: “Kazakhs have never sent their elders away. This is not acceptable!”. Upon listening to these words, I started thinking about how we, Kazakhs, have accepted the existence of these homes, even though we never had them back before. And if we stop learning about our true selves, stop thinking about our true beliefs that shaped us, us,

who knows how many other things there are that we accepted as a normality over time. And how right was Ilse *apa* when becoming angry at even the thought of these “modern world” practices being accepted as normal.

—Askar Akhytaye, Training Manager at OPPO, China

In January 2008, I flew to Seattle, Washington and met with Ilse (*opa*) Cirtautas in person. I vividly remember that day as if it was just yesterday. She greeted me in Uzbek with the words, “*Assalomu alaykum, qizim. Xush kelibsiz*” (Hello, my daughter. Welcome here), which gave me a sense of being in Uzbekistan. Once I got to know Ilse *opa* better, I witnessed her deep love for books, her passion for literature and education, and commitment to helping her students out. With her, I developed a project funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation that focused on providing books to developing countries and building digital libraries. With the project, we were able to send thousands of books to Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Ilse *opa* became a role model in so many ways: a mentor, a friend and, in many ways, my grandmother. Every time I saw her for a quick update, she would ask me what I learned for the day and what I taught others. “Make sure that you speak up,” she would advise me, “introduce students to your rich and kind culture. Set your goals at the highest standard, and most importantly, get it done.” It was truly an honor to know her and to work with her, and I will make sure to pass her wisdom and generosity to my kids as well.

—Saodat Aminova

Not long ago I heard a story from Alva Robinson about a visit Ilse *apa* had once made to a Kazakh family’s home in Almaty in the 1980s. According to Alva, Ilse *apa* had made it a point to recite to her students what she observed, for it had left a lasting impression on her. A young girl of no more than eight or nine years old, upon returning home from school, as she had explained, and after having greeted her grandmother was asked by the elder relative the following question: “*Sen kimsin?*” (Who are you?). The girl replied thus: “*Qazaqpin!*” (I am Kazakh!). This back-and-forth dialog, Alva recalled Ilse *apa* sharing, struck me, for it reflected a singular ritual only my grandparents – as far as I know – initiated with my older cousins with their own three children and continued with me. In asking this question to us, my grandparents looked to instill in us pride in our Kazakh roots and spirit and wanted to ensure the Kazakh language remained close to us. Perhaps, that young girl Ilse *apa* spoke of decades later and half the world away was me. It must have been, for it was a quintessence of my grandfather, Turkologist Shora Sarybayev, a dear friend of Ilse *apa*. My grandfather so much dreamt and devoted himself to the preservation of Kazakh language and culture. The very question posed by him, “*sen kimsin?*” has contributed to our family’s collective identity as Kazakhs and prevails within our own individual self-valuation. Now, as I am older, I ask my children the same question, and I have no doubt this invincible cycle of love for our Kazakh world will continue far beyond our own lives. Some words can’t exist elsewhere but only within the eternity of our own lineage.

—Dinara Assanova, PhD candidate, Kazakh State Pedagogical University, Almaty

I began studying Uzbek on a whim, but to Professor Cirtautas there could be nothing more serious than introducing a novice to the language. With one academic quarter of her personal tutoring in grammar and vocabulary, I had enough Uzbek to join her intensive summer course that year. I have never studied under any professor so passionately dedicated to her subject. For her, Uzbek was not an academic exercise, not merely one language among many, but a mission that swept up everyone she met and everyone she taught. I can only hope my own work honors hers.

—Shelley Fairweather-Vega, Professional Translator, Seattle

1981. New to Seattle. I'd just completed my master's degree in Slavic linguistics and started a new job at the University of Washington. A job perk was tuition-free classes, so I took Professor Ilse Cirtautas' challenging Uzbek class during my lunch break, which proved useful when I later worked for Soviet TV in Uzbekistan. Once Professor Cirtautas taught us an Uzbek lesson on the new Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association, inviting us to volunteer and attend their events. I took her up on that offer; over the years I worked alongside Ilse as a volunteer, board director, and delegate to Uzbekistan for the Seattle-Tashkent 35th anniversary. Her class changed my life.

—Helen Holter, Long-time Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association member, Seattle

Ilse Opa is responsible for my academic career on Central Asia. In 1992, just as I became an American citizen, I decided to attempt a doctoral degree in Central Asian Studies. Ilse Opa was the only one who gave me the chance when every other department turned me down because I had been away from academia too long. She talked to me for four hours in a German cafe on "the Ave" at the University District in Seattle to welcome me to study Uzbek Language and Literature. I studied Uzbek with her, and later Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Tajik in the Near Eastern Languages and Civilization in University of Washington. Once I started studying history in the History Department, we often disagreed on several issues regarding Soviet History in Central Asia. Despite our intellectual conflicts, Ilse Opa remained a strong supporter of my work on Central Asian History. When I was elected as the president of the Central Asian Studies Society in 2018, we celebrated her at the CESS conference in Seattle, although I believe her mentorship of her students cannot be celebrated enough. After all, she was the only one who introduced many to Central Asian culture during the Soviet era, even when it was almost impossible to make connections. Ilse Opa was a pioneer!

—Ali İğmen, PhD (İgmen) Professor History Department Undergraduate Adviser, see the History Department padlet for advising; CSULB History Department, Director of Oral History Program, Department of History, California State University, Long Beach; Author of *Speaking Soviet with an Accent, Culture and Power in Kyrgyzstan*. Coeditor and coauthor of *Creating Culture in (Post)Socialist Central Asia*. Past-President, Central Eurasian Studies Society, 2018–19, Long Beach, California

Ilse Cirtautas' deep enthusiasm for and commitment to an exchange program with Tashkent city, and with Tashkent State University, was what made it possible for me to go to Uzbekistan. After studying in her summer Uzbek class, I asked Dr. Cirtautas whether she could help me find a way to study in Tashkent. She made the connections that resulted in an invitation, and in April 1991, I flew into Tashkent and started making my way through a bewildering and stimulating new (to me) world. This opportunity set the direction for my career in academia. She became a model for me, someone who by example taught me these things: be entrepreneurial; try to create new possibilities; build relationships; and use your position and relationships to open doors for others.

—Marianne Kamp, Associate Professor Central Eurasian Studies,
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

With her dedication to the study of Central Asian languages and cultures, Professor Cirtautas was a strong source of inspiration to all of her many students and colleagues at the University of Washington and beyond. Starting from my very early days as a young assistant professor, she was always very kind and welcoming to me. I always appreciated her support.

—Resat Kasaba, Anne H. H. and Kenneth B. Pyle Professor, Henry M. Jackson
School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle

In late August 1966, when I came to Indiana University in Bloomington with a Foreign Student Fellowship, I immersed myself with gusto into the course offerings of the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies as it was called at the time. One of the courses I took for two years was Uzbek which Professor Ilse Cirtautas taught with great enthusiasm and devotion. Her name had been familiar to me, because she had obtained her PhD from Hamburg University, just a few years before I became a student there. Studying Uzbek with Ilse Xonym was an unforgettable experience, as she not only prolonged class time to our benefit, usually half an hour or more, but also because she offered smiling, gracious hospitality to us students at her home. Her glowing narratives of her visits to Central Asia changed the imagination we had in our heads in those days: Exotic, impossible-to-visit regions thus became places where we were to travel ourselves and become friends of Ilse Xonym's friends. And this is what happened.

—Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Professor Emerita, Freie Universität, Berlin

I was not a student of Professor Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, but she was one of the most-impactful researchers in the beginning of my research career. Her classic work *Der Gebrauch der Farbbezeichnungen in den Türkdialekten* guided me in my first paper on Mongolic colour names and their suffixes (published in 2001 in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54, 85–165). Even though the work of Professor Laude-Cirtautas was published in 1961, exactly 60 years ago, it still remains the best

and the most-important publication not only for studies on color terms in Turkic languages but, more generally, for Turkology and Altaic Studies too.

—Bayarma Khabtagaeva, PhD, habil, Department of Asian, African and Mediterranean Studies, University of Szeged, Hungary

Ilse *apa* had a huge influence on my personal and academic development during my undergraduate and graduate studies at the University of Washington, from 1994 to 2007. Because of my many years as her student, we shared a special bond as “mother and daughter”, “mentor and student”. I often sensed she was quite protective of me, as she wanted to ensure I was receiving only a positive experience of American life and culture while earning a strong education and making plans to return to my home country to contribute to its development. During one of our many conversations, I expressed how it was interesting that I was studying my own Kyrgyz culture and history in the United States, for which she replied with the following. “If you would be studying them in your own country, Kyrgyzstan, it would be like you are standing in the forest but not seeing the trees”. And she was right. The academic knowledge and life experience I gained in Seattle have guided my professional growth and contributed to the development of cultural heritage studies here in Kyrgyzstan. I’m very grateful for Ilse *apa*’s motherly care and academic support. *Jatkan jeri jailuu bolsun* (May her place of rest be peaceful).

—Elmira Köchümkulova, Director of Cultural Heritage and Humanities Unit, University of Central Asia, Bishkek

I first met Ilse Hanim in September 1969 when, having registered for a course in Yakut, I was presented with a different professor (Ilse Hanim) and a course in Uzbek. In those days the registration process at the university [of Washington] was so cumbersome that it was simpler to take the Uzbek course. Little did I realize that I had just begun a forty-five-year career in Turkic Studies. The assistance, advice and knowledge provided by Ilse Hanim was simply immense. Upon returning from a trip to Uzbekistan, she presented me with Abdullah Qodiriy’s novels *Mehrobdan Chayon* and *O’tgan Kunlar* and stated that these were to be the sources for my M.A. thesis and dissertation. From these I moved on to Chaghatay and Ottoman literature, and to a long career at the Library of Congress, becoming the first non-Arabic specialist to head the Library’s Near East Section. The last time I saw Ilse Hanim was when she was one of the main presenters at a Library of Congress symposium focusing on Ali Shir Nava’i.

—Chris Murphy, PhD, retired head of the Library of Congress Near East Section, Washington, D.C.

When I first met Professor Cirtautus, I called her by her title “Professor Cirtautus”. She looked at me with a smile and said to call her as I call my grandmother. I call my grandmother *apa*. *Apa* is very dear to me. According to Qazaq traditions, the first-born child is given to the grandparents. I was given to my *apa* when I was two months old. The idea behind the tradition is that because the grandparents have already brought up their

own children, they are more experienced in the matter. Looking back at my childhood, I feel blessed to have received the unconditional support and wisdom of my *apa*. Looking back at my undergraduate years, I feel blessed to have received unconditional support and wisdom of my new *apa*, Professor Cirtautus. Every Thursday and Friday, during our Central and Inner Asian Studies Seminar meetings at Denny Hall at the University of Washington, which she proudly shared had occurred uninterrupted since 1987, we would discuss various matters related to Central Asia. We would often stay with *apa* after each meeting, and she would share her experience and wisdom with us. She was a devoted lover of Central Asia and its people, and for us she will forever remain in our hearts, for such wise *apas* as Ilse *apa* are never forgotten in our culture.

—Shyngys Nurlanov, Vice-President for Social Development,
Abay University, Almaty

As long-time board member/president of the Seattle–Tashkent Sister City Association from 2000–2016, I got to know Ilse very well. Ilse was a founding member of the first Soviet-American sister city, in 1973, along with mayors of Seattle and Tashkent. I was in awe of her commitment and board membership of the sister city for 46 years. She was adored in Seattle and Tashkent by countless citizens and officials. I called her our “mother”, since she was our sister city mother. I miss her personally, our talks giving her a ride home, and her love of the Uzbek people and culture.

—Dan Peterson, Former Seattle-Tashkent Sister City
President and Board Member, Seattle

Ilsa *xonim* and I first met when she came to Tashkent in the early 1970s. I introduced her to a well-known artist, Shomahmud Muhammadjonov (1954–). He was a student of the Distinguished Artist of Uzbekistan Chingiz Akhmarov (1912–1995), who was an avid admirer of art and creator of several historical works. *Opa* was mesmerized by one of Muhammadjonov's paintings. After gazing at it for a few moments, she inquired about the price. The painter replied it was about 10,000 *so'ms*,¹ *Opa* dug into her purse for the money, but the artist stopped her right away and said he would give the painting to her as a gift. *Opa* was taken aback by the generosity. She turned to me and asked me: “What would you say if I invited this artist to the United States?” I said, “Surely.” Subsequently, the professor invited Muhammadjonov to the USA and introduced his works to Americans. She even sponsored the publication of his works in a beautifully decorated book. She was an extraordinary admirer of art. Later, I took her to several beautiful places in Uzbekistan and organized meetings with prominent Uzbek artists for her. We did a great deal of service with her in connecting the two nations. I collaborated and produced wonderful films with Uzbek professional dancers Kizlarkhan

¹ Uzbek monetary currency. In the early 1990s, after independence. 10,000 *so'ms* equalled to roughly US\$50–US\$60, which was considered to be a substantial amount of money in Uzbekistan.

(1946–), Malika Akhmedova (1950–), Dilafruz Jabborova (1950–), Laurel Victoria Gray and Emiko *xonim*, who now lives in Seattle. Currently, I am working on a documentary film dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association. Ilse *apa* played an incomparable role in its development.

—Hamid Qahramon, Film Producer, Tashkent

Ilse *apa* was my mentor, and I admired her for her discipline and dedication. She worked meticulously toward helping her Central Asian colleagues and counterparts in achieving and maintaining independence, a sense of self. Her achievements covered more than the scholarly topics she researched and wrote about. Her contributions filled footnotes. What most people have seen as only work or an unapologetic interest, I have come to understand as something greater. Ilse *apa* took as her own mentors the grandparents and great-grandparents – children of the nomadic steppe – of those born on the cusp of independence, 1991, and trained under them to join them in saving future generations from cultural extermination. She honored each of them most astutely, in the finest of details – the footnotes she drafted spelt out at great length the contributions of the many Central Asian Turkic writers and scholars from whom she had herself witnessed persecuted as victims of a cruel system. She demonstrated their resilience by simply mentioning out their names and bodies of work in her scholarly. Her scholarship serves as warnings against the onslaught of those working to erase their nomadic past, culture, language and traditions, which the Soviets and the West, among others, have worked so hard to kill off for centuries. Her intention in citing their names has given them an eternal voice and allowed future generations – even half the world away – to utter the names of their ancestors, to remember their plights and to honor them. And inspired by her intentions, I too seek to accomplish the same.

—Alva Robinson, Founder Edgu Bilig; Associate Editor, *AramcoWorld*

Through her unwavering and impassioned commitment to the teaching and appreciation of the cultures of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, Ilse Cirtautas sustained the distinguished program at the University of Washington when it was endangered due to retirements and budget cuts. An appropriate tribute to her expertise and standing among her peers was the invitation in 1991 to present at an international conference in Tashkent celebrating the 550th anniversary of the birth of the great advocate of Chagatai literature, ‘Ali-Shir Nava’i. As the local newspaper reported with admiration, Prof. Cirtautas delivered her paper in polished literary Uzbek.

—Daniel C. Waugh, Professor Emeritus, University of Washington: Department of History; Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies; Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Seattle

Although Ilse was not a Mongolist, her commitment to the entirety of Central Asia, its peoples and their history and culture, gave me the support to plough my own lonely furrow in my work on modern Mongolian literature. Beyond that, her enthusiasm for

Old Turkic meant that studying the language and its associated inscriptions became something to look forward to, a place where we could share our understanding (and I was constantly struck by her willingness to learn from her students as she was to impart her own vast knowledge) and discuss Turkology and Mongolistics and the idea of Central Asia. And of course, in the background of our discussions about Mongolia, there was always the spirit of her dear friend Nicholas Poppe. But now I am a teacher myself, I find myself passing on one piece of advice which I learnt from Ilse – and which she, I believe, had learnt from her own teacher Annemarie von Gabain – which, in many ways, sums up her attitude to scholarship as much as to life: “Simon”, she would say, “remember to be kind to the reader.” This kindness, this open-hearted wish that your reader, or your interlocutor, understand what you are saying, was clearly at the heart of who Ilse was as a person. In the sometimes-fraught world of academe, this piece of advice from this wise, humane, gentle and fundamentally good person is her legacy, which I will pass on to my students.

—Simon Wickhamsmith, translator and scholar of modern Mongolian literature,
Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

Curriculum Vitae of Ilse Laude-Cirtautas

Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98195

Education

Abitur 1944 Gymnasium, Treuburg (Germany)
PhD 1958 University of Hamburg (Germany)
Major field: Turkology (Comparative Turkic Studies); Minor fields: German Philology,
Modern German Literature

Academic Positions

1962–1963 Instructor, College Misericordia, Dallas, PA.
1964–1965 Professor, College Misericordia, Dallas, PA.
1965–1968 Assistant Professor, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, Department of Uralic and Altaic
Studies.
1968–1984 Associate Professor, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, Department of Asian
Languages and Literatures.
1980–1981 Visiting Professor, University of Bonn, Germany.
1981–1982 Visiting Professor, University of Bonn, Germany.
1984–1986 Associate Professor, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, Department of Near Eastern
Languages and Civilization.
1987–pres. Professor, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, Department of Near Eastern Languages
and Civilization.
1987–1999 Adjunct Professor, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, Department of Asian Languages
and Literature.
1987–1992 Chair, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, Department of Near Eastern Languages and
Civilization.
1989–2005 Director, Central Asian Languages and Culture Summer Programs.

Editorship

1965–1968 Associate Editor, Indiana University Publications, *Uralic and Altaic Series*.
1977–2012 Member, Editorial Board of the *Central Asiatic Journal*. International Journal for the
Languages, Literature, History and Archeology of Central Asia, Leiden-Wiesbaden.
1993–1995 Kazakh & Kirghiz Studies Bulletin, University of Washington, Seattle WA.
2004– Member, Editorial Board of *O'zbekistan Tarixi* (History of Uzbekistan), Journal of the
Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Tashkent.

Consultant

- 1991–1994 Chevron Company: Meetings at Chevron Headquarters in California advising the top management on customs to be honored among the Kazakhs. Consultations continued in Almaty (Alma-Ata), Kazakhstan, with Chevron representatives.
- 1995 (Nov.- Kyrgyz-American School of Business, Law and Humanities (now: American University December) in Central Asia), Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.

Memberships and Honorary Degrees

- 1978–1984 Turkey: Ankara: Associate (Corresponding) Member of the Türk Dil Kurumu.
Note: The Türk Dil Kurumu is in scope and tradition comparable to the institutes of language and literature at European Academies of Sciences.
- 1980– Finland: Helsinki: Associate (Corresponding) Member of the Societe Finno-Ougrienne.
- 1981–1986 Germany: Bonn: Associate Member of the Sonderforschungsbereich “Zentralasien” der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) (Special Research Group “Central Asia” of the German Research Foundation).
- 1984– Re-elected as an Associate (Corresponding) Member of the Türk Dil Kurumu after its incorporation into a newly created large research body: T.C. Atatürk Yüksek Kurumu (Atatürk Research Association of the Republic of Turkey).
- 1990– Uzbekistan: Turkey: Member of the Writers’ Union of Uzbekistan.
- 1995– Kazakhstan: Almaty: Honorary Professorship, Alma-Ata State University.
- 1995– Honorary Doctoral Degree, National University of Uzbekistan (formerly: Tashkent State) .
- 1999– Honorary Member, Chingiz Aitmatov Academy, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.
- 2003– Elected Honorary Member, Central Asian Studies Association, Harvard University.

Member of Executive Boards

- 1972 October: Founding and first member of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association. Close cooperation with then Mayor Wes Uhlman.
- 1993– Vice President, Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association, Seattle.
- 1992–1994 American Council of Collaboration in Education and Language Study, Washington, D.C.
- 2001–2002 Senate Executive Committee, University of Washington.

Grants and Fellowships

- 1972 American Council of Learned Societies.
- 1972 Social Science Research Council.
- 1973 International Research and Exchanges Board.
- 1974 International Research and Exchanges Board.
- 1975 International Research and Exchanges Board.

- 1977–1979 Department of Education, Washington, D.C.
1983–1984 International Research and Exchanges Board, Washington, D.C.
1983 Summer: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), Bonn. Research project: “Oral Epics of the Central Asian Turkic Peoples”.
1984–1987 Summers: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), Bonn. Research project: “Oral Epics of the Central Asian Turkic Peoples”.
1989 Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C.: Summer Uzbek Program.
1990 Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C.: Summer Uzbek Program.
1991 Social Science Research Council: First Central Asian Languages and Culture Program, Summer 1991.
1992 Social Science Research Council: Second Central Asian Languages and Culture Program, Summer 1992.
1992 Grant/Contract: United States Peace Corps, Washington, D.C.
1993 Social Science Research Council: Third Central Asian Languages and Culture Program, Summer 1993.
1993 Grant/Contract: United States Peace Corps, Washington, D.C.
1994–2005 Social Science Research Council: Continued support for my Central Asian Languages and Culture Summer Programs.
1995 Cooperation with University of Washington Libraries in getting State Department support for improving scholarly libraries in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.
2003–2007 U.S. State Department’s *Uzbekistan Partnership Grant* of one million dollars awarded to the University of Washington, June 2003–June 2007. I was actively involved in writing the grant application, encouraged by Dr. Behzod Yo‘ldoshev, president of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan. The application highlighted the strong ties between the University of Washington and Uzbek academic institutions, starting already in the 1960s with Book Exchange Programs. Especially important was the fact that Seattle had been Tashkent’s Sister City since 1972 (see in the following). The grant allowed the University of Washington to invite individual Uzbek scholars, selected by our Uzbek Partner Institutions, for longer periods of research. It was my pleasure to try my best to extend to our guests the traditional Uzbek hospitality while in Seattle. About my work and responsibilities in Tashkent, see below.

Invitations for Lectures, Seminars, Symposia, Conferences and Consultations

- 1966 Germany: University of Hamburg.
Lecture: “Terms of Address in Uzbek”.
1968 Germany: University of Bonn.
Lecture: “Shamanistic Rites among Uzbeks”.
1972–2013 Yearly visits to Uzbekistan (1972–2013), to Kazakhstan (1972–2009), Kyrgyzstan (1972–2005).
1972 USSR: Almaty: Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, Institute of Linguistics.
Lecture: “Turkological Studies in Europe and the USA” (in Kazakh).
After my presentation I received a standing invitation to lecture at the Til Bilimi Institutī (Institute of Linguistics) every year.
1972 Arrived in May for my first visit in Tashkent and was welcomed as “an Uzbek who had come to visit her country.” Meetings with distinguished Uzbek intellectuals who were not just

- thinking about but also planning for the future independence of Uzbekistan. One of their goals was the establishment of a sister city relationship between Tashkent and the place from where I had come, namely Seattle. To have a sister city in the West would allow them to send individuals and groups there to gain knowledge about Western life, without much interference by Moscow. Upon my return to Seattle in September 1972, I immediately got in touch with Seattle's Mayor Wes Uhlman.
- who was receptive to the idea of having Seattle connected with a city in the Soviet Union.
- 1972 Uzbek SSR: Ferghana: Ulugh Beg Pedagogical Institute.
Lecture: "Turkological Studies in Europe and the USA" (in Uzbek).
- 1972 Kabul, Afghanistan: Meetings with Uzbeks living in Northern Afghanistan.
- 1973 USSR: Almaty: Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, Institute of Linguistics.
Lectures: "The Past Tense in Kazakh and Uzbek"; "The Interjections *au* and *ay* in Kazakh".
- 1973-- Seattle/Tashkent: On January 22, 1973, Seattle's City Council passed a resolution to officially adopt Tashkent as Seattle's Sister City. From now on my first task upon arriving in Tashkent was to arrange a visit with Tashkent's mayor and to transmit his greetings and well-wishes to Seattle's mayor in order to keep the relationship flourishing. At the end of the 1970s and thereafter, Tashkent sent one delegation after the other to Seattle. I had the honor to receive them all at the University of Washington, in Denny 215 A. When Uzbekistan gained its independence in 1991, the members of the first cabinet of President Islom Karimov had all been in Seattle.
- 1974 USSR: Almaty: Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, Institute of Linguistics.
Lecture: "On Taboo and Euphemism in Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek"
Tashkent: Visit at the mayor's office; continuing contacts with the Institute of Literature (Oral Literature Section), Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan.
- 1975 Germany: University of Hamburg.
Seminars: "Lexical and Morphological Particularities of the New Literary Languages of the Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Kirghiz"; "The Role of the Elderly in the Literature of the Turkic Peoples of the Soviet Union" (in German).
- 1975 USSR: Almaty, Bishkek, Tashkent: My own research and contact with our partner libraries.
- 1976 USSR: Almaty: Guest participant at the Second All-Union Turkological Conference, Almaty, invited by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.
Paper presented: "On the Development of Literary Uzbek in the Last Fifty Years".
- 1977 USSR: Almaty: Invited for consultations and lectures by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR.
Lectures: "The State of Turkological Studies in the USA"; "On Necessitative and Related Forms in the Turkic Languages".
- 1978 USSR: Almaty: Invited for consultations by the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, Institute of Linguistics; annual visits to Bishkek and Tashkent.
- 1978 Germany: University of Bonn-Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft: First International Symposium on Central Asian Epics.
Lectures: "Ethnological Data in the Epic Songs of the Turks of Central Asia"; "Similarities and Dissimilarities in the Epic Songs of the Mongols and the Turks of Central Asia" (in German).
- 1979 Germany: University of Bonn-Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft: Second International Symposium on Central Asian Epics.
Lecture presented: "Der Held in der Gestalt eines armseligen Jungen: ein Verwandlungsmotiv und seine Ausformungen in den mongolischen und zentralatisch-türkischen Epen und Märchen".

- 1980 USSR: Tashkent: Guest participant at the Third All-Union Turkological Conference, invited by the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR.
Paper presented: "Research on Central Asian Turkic Epics at the Institute for the Culture and Languages of Central Asia, University of Bonn, Germany".
- 1980 Germany: University of Bonn-Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft: Third International Symposium on Central Asian Epics.
Paper presented: "The Uzbek Bard Ergash Jumanbulbul o'gli (1872–1955)" (in German).
- 1980 USA: Seattle: Nineteenth Meeting of the Western Slavic Association
Paper presented: "Trends in Foreign Borrowings in Uzbek".
- 1981 Germany: University of Hamburg: Symposium on Central Asian Studies, honoring Professor A. von Gabain at her eightieth birthday.
Paper presented: "On the Publication of Oral Literary Texts in Uzbekistan" (in German).
- 1981 USA: Seattle: Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association.
Paper presented: "The Tradition of Autobiographical Writings in Central Asian Turkic Literature".
- 1982 Sweden: Uppsala: Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC).
Paper presented: "Introductory Songs and Formulas in the Folk Tales and Oral Epics of the Mongols and the Turkic Peoples of Central Asia".
- 1983 USA: Washington, D.C.: Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies: Conference on the Study of Central Asia.
- 1983 USA: Indiana University: First International Conference on Turkic Studies.
Paper read: "Hodi Zarif (1905–1970) and the Study of Uzbek Oral Literature".
- 1983 USA: University of Berkeley: Central Asia Conference.
Paper presented: "The Pushkin Institute for Language and Literature at the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR".
- 1983 USA: Boise, ID: Boise State University.
Conducted two workshops on Soviet Central Asia as part of a week-long discussion-lecture series on the Soviet Union.
- 1983 Germany (FRG): University of Bonn-Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft: Fourth International Symposium on Central Asian Epics.
Paper presented: "Traditional Songs Within the Central Asian Turkic Epics" (in German).
- 1984 Germany (GDR): Berlin (East): Humboldt University.
Lectures: "Research on the Kirghiz Epos Manas"; "Turco-Mongolian Epic Motifs in Uzbek Folk Tales" (in German).
- 1984 USSR: Invited for consultations and research by Academician Ismet Kenesbaev, cofounder of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, member of its presidium and former director of its Institute of Linguistics.
- 1984 USA: Seattle: University of Washington: Linguistic Colloquium, Department of Asian Languages and Literature.
Paper read: "Elliptic Expressions in the Turkic Languages".
- 1985 Germany (GDR): Berlin: Humboldt University.
Lectures: "Research on Uzbek Oral Literature at the Pushkin Institute for Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR"; "On the Uzbek Bard Ergash Jumanbulbul o'gli (1872–1955)." (in German).
- 1985 Germany (FRG): University of Bonn-Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft: Fifth International Symposium on Central Asian Epics.
Paper read: "Bards and Feasts among the Kazakhs" (in German).
- 1986 USA: Seattle: Western Conference of the Association for Asian Studies.
Paper presented: "Central Asian Responses to the Aral Sea Disaster".

- 1986 USA: Santa Barbara, CA: University of California: International Symposium on the Histories, Cultures, and Languages of the Minorities of China.
Paper presented: "Kazakh Oral Poets (*aqin*) of the 19th and Early 20th Century".
- 1986 Germany (GDR): Berlin: Humboldt University.
Lecture: "Minstrels of the Kazakhs" (in German).
- 1986 Germany (FRG): University of Frankfurt.
Lecture: "Bards and Feasts Among the Kazakhs and Kirghiz of the 19th Century" (in German).
- 1986 USSR: Tashkent: Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR: 29th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC).
Paper presented: "The Kirghiz Oral Poet (*aqin*) Sagimbay Orozbaq uulu (1867–1930) and the Epos Manas".
- 1986 Germany: Hamburg:: XXXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies.
Papers presented: "Types of Oral Poets and Other Singers Among the Kazakhs of the 19th Century"; "The *aqin* (Oral Poet) as a Focus for Unity in Tribal Central Asian Turkic Society".
- 1987 USA: Washington, D.C.: Social Science Research Council Review Panel participant (Program for Summer Training in Soviet Languages other than Russian).
- 1987 USA: Seattle: University of Washington: Founder and director of the Central and Inner Asian Studies Seminar, meetings first three times weekly, then twice a week (Thursdays and Fridays). The CIASS has been active for twenty-seven years now (2014) and has gained a national and international reputation.
- 1987 USSR: Almaty: Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR: Institute of Uighur Studies: invited for lectures and consultations.
Lecture: "Studies on Uighur Language and Literature in the United States"; consultation and discussions on my own research at the Institute of Literature of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences.
- 1988 Germany (GDR): Berlin: Humboldt University, Host of the 31st Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC), Weimar
Paper read: "Aqan seri (1843–1930) – a Kazakh Minstrel" (in German).
- 1988 University of Bonn/Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG): Invited to participate in the discussions on the future development of Inner Asian Studies at German universities (Oct.2–4, 1988).
- 1989 USA: University of California, Berkeley: Conference on Central Asia Paper presented: "An Interview with the Uzbek Poet Erkin Vohidov (1936-)"
- 1989 USA: Indiana University, Workshop on Proficiency-Based Instruction in Uzbek.
My presentation: "Guidelines for Proficiency-based Teaching of Uzbek".
- 1989–2005 USA: Seattle: Invited several distinguished scholars and poets/writers from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan to participate in the Central Asian Turkic Languages and Culture Summer Programs, which I organized and directed. Among the guests were Erkin Vohidov, Distinguished Uzbek Poet, and Muhammad Ali (Ahmedov), Distinguished Uzbek Writer and Poet. Muhammad Ali taught Uzbek at the Summer programs from 1991–2005 and wrote a book about his experiences and impressions in Seattle (*Men ko'rgan Amerika (The America I Saw)*, Tashkent: Sharq, 2000). Erkin Vohidov wrote a poem "Ilse Xonim" (Lady Ilse) about his impressions of his first visit to Denny Hall in 1989. The poem praised the fact that the Uzbek language was taught outside of Uzbekistan at the University of Washington in Seattle, Tashkent's Sister City since 1972. Several leading Uzbek newspapers published the poem in October 1989 as an important contribution to the ongoing debate and the upcoming vote on declaring Uzbek the state language of Uzbekistan.

- 1989 USSR: Tashkent: Learning that medicine was needed in Uzbekistan, I turned to my brother in Germany, who called on the German Red Cross, organized a delivery plane loaded with medicine and came himself to distribute the medicine to hospitals in Tashkent.
- 1990 USA: Seattle: Assisted in arranging the hosting of a delegation from Tashkent, participating in the Good Will Games in Seattle.
- 1990–1991 USSR: Tashkent: As in previous years, I worked with the presidents of Tashkent University to implement a student exchange program. The first two students arrived from Tashkent in 1989. They lived in Seattle as guests of families connected with the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association. Two of our own students lived and studied in Tashkent during 1990–1991. The exchange program actively continued till 2007.
- 1991– Personally funded Emiko Nakamura, a Japanese-American student, to study in Tashkent with the best Uzbek dance teachers. Emiko had developed a great love for Uzbek language and culture, especially music and dance. Upon her return from Tashkent, Emiko created an Uzbek dance company in Seattle, with the primary goal of presenting Uzbek culture in Seattle. Emiko has regularly performed with her group at major events of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association, as, e.g., at the well-known celebrations of the Central Asian New Year, Navro'z, on March 21. This year (2014), Navro'z, a festival of peace and friendship, brought together close to 500 people who all admired Emiko's dance group!
- 1991 Immediately after Uzbekistan's independence (September 1), I was able to connect the fledgling Uzbek airline with Lufthansa, the largest German airline, which offered needed assistance, including training of pilots and stewardesses. The close relationship which developed between the two airlines still continues.
- 1992–1993 Almaty, Bishkek, Tashkent: Reviving the University of Washington's Book Exchange Programs with major libraries in Almaty, Bishkek and Tashkent that had been established by the University of Washington Libraries in the 1960s and had been working extremely well. With independence in 1991, however, the exchanges had been stalled by our Central Asian partners due to increased postal fees.
- 1992 USA: Seattle: Alerted a group of Seattle ophthalmologists, headed by Dr.Laukaitis, Bellevue, to visit the newly independent Central Asian republics and help patients in need for good eye care, while at the same time training local doctors. The Seattle doctors landed in Almaty and in Tashkent in a special airplane, well equipped like a small eye clinic. Their work there has not been forgotten.
- 1992–1996 August/September: Almaty, Bishkek, Tashkent: Regular visits with the University of Washington's Book Exchange Partners. Exchanging of lists of desired books, developing and maintaining close contacts with local scholars, poets and writers.
- 1993–2000 Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991), I was fortunate to welcome many visiting scholars from the newly independent republics, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. They mostly came to the University of Washington through various programs of the U.S. State Department as, e.g., Professor Gurbanberdy Ovezov from Turkmenistan who was a Fulbright scholar at the University of Washington (1994–1995).
- 1994 First exchange students arrive at the University of Washington from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

- 1995 Spent the Autumn quarter in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: Research and numerous contacts with scholars, writers, universities and government agencies. Most important were the close contacts I was fortunate to establish with the writer Chingiz Aitmatov (1928–2008) and his family, especially his sister, Roza Aitmatova, also a writer.
- 1996 August/September: Almaty, Bishkek, Tashkent: Engaged as in previous years with our book exchange programs, student exchanges and my own research.
- 1997 Invited to Chingiz Aitmatov's Issiq Köl (Issyk Kul) Forum, Bishkek, Lake Issiq Köl, Kyrgyzstan. The meeting was also attended by Mikhail Gorbachev, last leader of the Soviet Union, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Russian poet, and other internationally known poets, writers, philosophers and distinguished personalities. The first meeting of this kind was held in 1986.
- 1997– Uzbekistan: Tashkent: As a member of the Writers' Union of Uzbekistan all my visits to Tashkent, 2013 usually between August 20 and September 20, involved meetings and discussions with Uzbek poets and writers, especially with Muhammad Ali (Ahmedov), director of the Writers' Union since 2011.
- 1998–1999 Almaty, Bishkek, Tashkent: Visiting the University of Washington Libraries' Book Exchange partners; continuing my own research and keeping in contact with local poets/writers, scholars and their institutions.
- 2000 Standing invitation to Atyrau University, Atyrau, Kazakhstan. Shipment of scholarly books to Atyrau from Germany.
- 2001–2002 Uzbekistan: Tashkent: August/September: Own research and contacts with the Writers' Union, universities and institutes of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan.
- 2003 February: Dr. Behzod Yo'ldoshev, president of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan and director of the Academy's Institute of Nuclear Physics, visited the University of Washington and strongly encouraged me to apply for the Uzbekistan Partnership Grant, newly announced by the U.S. Department of State.
- 2003–2007 Indeed, in June 2003 the University of Washington was awarded the three-year (later extended to a fourth year) U.S. State Department Grant of one million dollars: "Uzbekistan Educational Partnership Program in Cultural and Comparative Religious Studies." From June 2003–July 31, 2005, I worked on behalf of the Grant as coinvestigator and from August 1, 2005–June 30, 2007, as principal investigator. The grant allowed us to work in partnership with five academic institutes in Tashkent, two of them institutes of the Academy of Sciences: the Institute of History and Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies.
- 2004 December: Travel to Tashkent on a Boeing delivery plane for Uzbekistan Airways. On board were over ninety boxes of scholarly books for the "International Library" we were establishing in Tashkent. Also on board was my student Jonathan Capes who had been accepted as an exchange student at the Islamic University, one of our partner institutions.
- 2005 January: Visit in Seattle of Dr. Bakhrom Abdukhalimov, director of the al-Beruni Institute, and Dr. Dilorom Alimova, director of the Institute of History.
- 2006 Uzbekistan: Tashkent: Almost single-handedly prepared for and implemented the first conference on "Cultural and Comparative Religious Studies" as stipulated by our grant (see above). The second conference took place in April 2007 in Seattle (see below).
- 2007 USA: Seattle: April 12–18 second conference conducted at the University of Washington with the participation of scholars from our Uzbek partner institutions.
- 2007 Uzbekistan: Tashkent: August 14–15, invitation for the conference on "Place of Uzbekistan in Islamic Civilization," organized in conjunction with Tashkent's selection as the "Capital of Islamic Culture in Asia for the year 2007" by the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO).

- 2007 Uzbekistan: Tashkent: September 7–8, invited by the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan to participate in the International Conference organized in conjunction with the 2000th anniversary of the city of Marg'ilon, located in the Ferghana Valley. The topic of my lecture was well received: "The *qiziqchi*(s) of Marg'ilon." (note: a *qiziqchi* is a performer who criticizes the shortcomings of "higher-ups" by making the audience laugh about them. A *qiziqchi* could not be punished for his criticism).
- 2007–2013 My main activity throughout these years in Tashkent was to develop and direct the small scholarly library which had come into existence in the course of our Uzbekistan Partnership Grant (see above). The grant we had received stipulated long lasting cooperation between the partners beyond the time frame of the grant. To this I was committed. After the expiration of the grant (June 30, 2007), I personally funded all library expenditures, which included the rent of a building in Tashkent for the library. I continued to collect books in Seattle and had them shipped to Tashkent via Uzbek Airline planes newly bought from Boeing. I hired a manager for the library, Dr. Alisher Abidjanov, who with his assistant helped to catalog the books. The library also contained books I had collected in Germany and sent to Tashkent. In September 2013, I officially presented the library, called the "International Library", to the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan. The Academy most gratefully accepted the book collection of over 16,000 valuable scholarly books and placed them as a separate entity, named the "Ilse Cirtautas Library", within its existing library.
- 2008 Uzbekistan: Andijon: Babur Conference (August 10–14)
My presentation: "The Genre of the Autobiography in Central Asian Turkic Literature and the Babur-Nama".
- 2008 USA: Seattle: December 7–11: Hosted a delegation from Tashkent.
- 2008 Turkey: Ankara: Invited to participate in an important meeting of the T. C. Atatürk Yüksek Kurumu (Atatürk Research Association of the Republic of Turkey). Unfortunately, I was unable to attend.
- 2009 Uzbekistan: Tashkent: Invited to participate in an international conference in March 2009 organized in conjunction with the 2,200th anniversary of the founding of the City of Tashkent.
- 2012 USA: Seattle: March 13, received a delegation from Tashkent, led by Ambassador Ne'matov, meeting with students in Denny 215 A.
- 2012 Uzbekistan: Tashkent: Sept., 5: Upon the request of the Minister of Higher Education of Uzbekistan I gave a presentation on "The University Systems in the U.S. and in Europe." My talk (in Uzbek) was transmitted via a video conference to all presidents of universities in Uzbekistan.
- 2013 Uzbekistan: Tashkent: September: Invited, together with other members of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association, by the City of Tashkent to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Tashkent-Seattle Sister City-Relationship.
Uzbekistan: Tashkent: September: Addressed (in Uzbek) a meeting of the members of the Writers' Union at the Writers' Union's place of recreation outside of Tashkent.
- 2014 Uzbekistan: Tashkent: A private study center in Tashkent was named and registered as the "Ilse Cirtautas Study Institute" (Ilse Cirtautas Ta'lim Muassasasi). The goal of this institute is to assist students and professionals in improving their reading and writing skills in English, French and German and to help them in using online information.
- 2014 Seattle/Tashkent: Received in April a personal invitation from the First Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Rustam Azimov, to present a paper at a conference in Samarkand, May 15–16, 2014, on the "Historical Heritage of Scientists and Thinkers of the Medieval East, its Role and Significance for the Modern World".

Invitations Received but unable to accept

- 1977 Poland: University of Warsaw: Guest lecturer (one week).
 1977 Turkey: Ankara: Hacettepe University: Visiting professor (one year).
 1977 Germany: University of Cologne: Scheduled lecture had to be cancelled due to illness.
 1979 Poland: University of Warsaw: Institute of Oriental Studies, guest lecturer (one week).
 1979 Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, Institute of Linguistics, invited for lectures and consultations.
 1979 Germany: Frankfurt: Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität: Institute for Oriental and East Asian Philologies, invited for lectures.
 1986–1987 People's Republic of China: Urumchi: Xinjiang University: Invited for lectures.
 1988–1989 People's Republic of China: Urumchi: Xinjiang University: Invited for lectures and discussions of exchange agreements.

Lectures, Presentations at the University of Washington

- 1968–1973 Inner Asia Colloquium, founded and directed by Professor Nicholas Poppe, regular presentations, as, e.g., November 30, 1970: “On the Usage of Descriptive Verbs in Uzbek”; April 26, 1973: “Uzbek Oral Literary Traditions in the Works of Abdulla Qahhor (1907–1968)”.
- 1987– Founded and directed the Central/Inner Asian Studies Seminar to continue the tradition Professor Nicholas Poppe had established at the University of Washington with his Inner Asia Colloquium.
- 1987–2014 Throughout the years I presented at least one paper every quarter. Among the more recent presentations are:
- “Remembering Chingiz Aitmatov (1928–2008)” (October 16, 2008); “Collectivization and Famine in Kazakhstan, 1929–1931” (October 24, 2008); “The Uzbek Poet, Writer and Scholar Muhammad Ali (1942–): His Life and Work” (Jan. 27, 2012); “Memoirs of Tashkent, May 1972, and the Start of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Relationship” (Jan. 24, 2013); “The Role and Status of the Elders among the Turkic Peoples of Central Asia: Past and Present” (Jan. 24, 2014); “The German School of Turkology” (Febr. 13, 2014).

In addition to the quarterly lectures, I also present every quarter four reviews of books published in the local languages in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Graduate Student Supervised (selective list)

Osman Nedim Tuna, PhD, 1968 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: “Studies on Nahju’l-Faradis: A Method for Turkic Historical Dialectology”.

Position: Professor at University of Erzerum, Turkey.

Christopher Murphy, MA, 1974 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "Life in Kokand During the Third Reign of Khudayar Khan (1866–1875) according to Abdulla Qodiriy's Novel *Mehrobdan Chayon*"

PhD, 1980 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "The Relationship of Abdulla Qodiriy's Historical Novels to the Earlier Uzbek Literary Traditions. A Comparison of Narrative Structures".

Right after his PhD defense Christopher, who had worked at Suzzallo Library, received an offer from the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., to head the Near East Section which also includes materials from the Turkic regions of Central Asia. He has been working at the Library of Congress ever since as area specialist for the Central Asian Turkic regions.

Güliz Kuruoglu, MA, 1975 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "Word Order in Turkish"

PhD, 1980 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "Sentence Synonymy in Turkic Languages. A Functionall Approach".

Guliz is presently a lecturer for Turkish at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Culture, University of California, Los Angeles.

Yi Dung Lyong, MA, 1979 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "A Tentative Comparison between Korean and Turkic (Uzbek) Verb Compounds"

PhD, 1982 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "Syntactic and Semantic Similarities in Turkic and Korean: A Contribution to the Genetic Relationship Between Turkic and Korean within the Scope of Altaic Linguistics".

Yi Dung Lyong returned to Korea after receiving his Ph.D. He has been working there as a professor at Sung Kyon Kwan University.

M. Zainulabidin, MA, 1980 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "Stress Rules in Turkic".

(no information about his professional career).

Gregory Gleason, PhD, 1983 (Committee Member)

Thesis topic: "The Dispersion of Agricultural Technology in Uzbekistan".

G. Gleason was at the University of Washington on leave from the University of California-Davis to study Uzbek and other related Central Asian subjects with me. His thesis was submitted at UC-Davis. He has been a professor (now Professor Emeritus) of political science at the University of New Mexico, where he was also connected with the George C. Marshall European Center for Security in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. He is the author of five books on Central Asia.

Stanley W. Toops, MA, 1983

PhD, 1990 (Committee member)

Stanley received his PhD in Geography. His major interest is centered on the Turkic peoples in China (Xinjiang). He was the first of my students who traveled to Xinjiang and connected the University of Washington's Central Asian Program with this Turkic region. He even arranged a visit of the president and the vice-president of Xinjiang University to the University of Washington. After receiving his PhD, Stanley was offered a tenure track position in Geography and International Studies at the University of Miami, Ohio, where he is working now in the rank of a professor.

John O'Farrell, MA 1990 NELC (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "The Practice of Hospitality Among Uzbeks and the Celebrations of Holidays and Feasts in Uzbekistan".

The thesis is based on fieldwork conducted in Uzbekistan November 1989-May 1990.

Ablahat Ibrahim, PhD(c), 1995 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "Meaning and Usage of Compound Verbs in Modern Uighur and Uzbek".

Ablahat accepted a teaching position at a U.S. military institution for teaching foreign languages, before finishing his PhD degree.

Hamit Zakir, PhD, 1999 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "Problems of Turkic Morphology: Classification of Suffixes, Case, Tense and Aspect".

Hamit returned to Xinjiang, where he has been teaching Turkology at Xinjiang University, in Urumchi since 1999.

Elmira Kochumkulova, MA, 1999 (NELC) (Committee Chair)

PhD, 2007 (Committee member)

Thesis topic: "Islamic Revival and Kyrgyz Identity in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan".

Elmira received her PhD from the Interdisciplinary PhD Program in Near and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Washington. She returned to Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, where she has been working as a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Central Asia. She has several publications on Islam and the nomadic heritage of the Kyrgyz.

Kagan Arik, PhD, 1999 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "Shamanism, Culture and the Xinjiang Kazak: A Native Narrative of Identity".

Kagan has been teaching as a lecturer in Uzbek and Central Asian studies at Chicago University since 2000. He founded the Central Asian Studies Society there and he is also a board member of the Central Eurasian Studies Committee. See also Kagan Arik "Overview of Activities in Central Asian Studies at the University of Chicago, September 2000-Present," *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, Vol. 4:2 (Summer 2005), 46-47.

Ali Igmen, MA 1993 (NELC) (Committee Chair)

PhD 2004 in History (University of Washington)

Immediately after receiving his PhD, Ali was offered a tenure-track position at California State University, Long Beach, where he is now an Associate Professor of Central Asian History and International Studies. He is also the director of the Oral History Program. His scholarly work is concentrated on Kyrgyzstan. See his recent book: *Speaking Soviet with an Accent: Crafting Culture in Kyrgyzstan*. Pittsburg University Press, 2012.

William Clark, PhD, 1999, Anthropology, University of Washington (Committee member).

Maria Kozhevnikova, MA, 1999, REECAS (Committee member)

Thesis topic: "Transition to Capitalism in Russia".

David Hunsicker, MA, 2001 (NELC) (Committee Chair)

No thesis Program (NELC).

Talgat Imangaliev, MA, 2001 (Committee Chair)

No thesis Program (NELC).

He first worked for the Chevron Company in Atyrau, Kazakhstan. Later he became the representative of several western companies in Astana, Kazakhstan.

Douglas Peterson, MA, 2002 REECAS (Committee member)

Thesis topic: "Repeated Mistakes: A Political And Military Analysis of Mistakes Made During the War in Afghanistan and Repeated in the 1st Chechen War".
(Employment history unknown).

Jipar Duyshembieva, MA, 2002 (NELC) (Committee Chair)

Jipar established a family in Seattle but intends to finish her PhD soon in the Interdisciplinary PhD Program in Near and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Washington. She presented several papers at the Central/Inner Asian Studies Seminar.

Ya-Lan Yang, MA, 2002 (REECAS) (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "A Preliminary Comparative Study of Russian and Central Asian Turkic/Mongolian Animal Tales".

Ya-lan returned to her home country Korea. Unfortunately, we have not been able to keep in contact.

Stefan Kamola, MA, 2007 (NELC) (Committee Chair)

PhD, 2013 (University of Washington)

Thesis topic: "Rashid al-Din and the Making of History in Mongol Iran".

Stefan received a postdoctoral Fellowship from Princeton University for 2013–2016 (Cotsen Postdoctoral Fellowship).

Jonathan Capes, MA, 2008 (NELC) (Committee Chair).

Dilbar Akhmedova, MA, 2008 (NELC) (Committee Chair)

Currently caring for her two young children but intends to continue her scholarly activities, particularly translating Uzbek literature into English. She is an active member of the Board of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association.

Boris Kogan, BA, 2011 (NELC), (Committee Chair)

Graduated with Honors. His paper, submitted for one of my classes, on the *basmachis*, Central Asian Turkic freedom fighters, was published in a peer reviewed on-line journal. Boris now lives and works in Israel.

Alva Robinson, MA, 2011 (NELC) (Committee Chair)

After receiving his MA, Alva left for Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, where he has been teaching at the International Atatürk-Alatoo University. At the same time he started an on-line journal: *Journal of Central and Inner Asian Dialogue (JCIAD)*. The first issue has been well received in Central Asia and elsewhere, obviously the Journal addresses a real need for better communication among scholars of and from Central Asia. The second issue is scheduled to appear in summer 2014.

Simon Wickham-Smith, PhD, 2013 (Committee Chair)

Thesis topic: "The Interrelationship of Humans and their Environment in G. Mend-Ooyo's Altan Ovoo".

Simon received his PhD, in the Interdisciplinary PhD Program, University of Washington. He is well known for his superb translations of Mongolian and Tibetan literature into English. He has been honored by

Mongolian academic institutions and the Mongolian government. Recently he taught at the Mongolian State University in Ulan Bator. He is the author of numerous publications on Mongolian poetry (in translation) and their authors.

Post-Doctoral Students from Abroad

Professor Ozawa, Tokyo, Japan, came 1974 to study Central Asian Turkic Languages (Uzbek, etc.)

Dr. Dursun Yildirim, Hacettepe University, Ankara, stayed from 1975–1978 studying Central Asian Turkic Epics.

Dr. Ahmet Ercinlasin, Hacettepe University, Ankara.

Dr. Bilge Ercinlasin, Hacettepe University, Ankara stayed from 1976–1977 studying Central Asian Turkic languages.

Note: The post-doctoral students from Turkey were sent by their own institution to gain expertise in areas of Turkic studies hitherto not taught or not yet sufficiently taught at Turkish universities.

Bibliography of Ilse Laude-Cirtautas

A Books

Der Gebrauch der Farbbezeichnungen in den Türkdialekten. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1961. 137 pages.

Reviewed:

Türk Dili Arastirmalari Yilligi-Belleten, 1961, 43–46 (S. Çagatay)

Tribus 11 (1962), 171–173 (K. J. Benzing)

The Toyo Gakuho (Tokyo), 45:2 (1962) (M. Mori)

Türk Kültürü (Ankara), 1964:26, 135–136 (A. Temir)

Anthropos, 60 (1965), 825–832 (K. Menges)

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 115:2 (1965), 422–425 (U. Johansen)

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, 60:1–2 (1965), 62–64 (J. Nemeth)

See also: D. Aksan, *Anlambilim ve Türk Anlambilimi* (Ankara, 1971), 89–90.

H.W. Brands, *Zum Wortbestand der Türksprachen* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 2, 90–91.

N. Poppe, “The Use of Color Names in Mongolian”, *The Canada-Mongolia Review*, 3:2 (1978), 118–134.

Crestomathy of Modern Literary Uzbek. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980. 261 pages.

Reviewed:

Central Asiatic Journal, 25:3–4 (1981), 320–321 (N. Poppe)

Türk Kültürü (Ankara), 19:219 (1981), 281–282 (S. Elçin)

Sovetskaya Tjurkologiya (Moscow-Baku), 1981:5, 90–92 (M. Nurmuhamedov and E. Fazilov)

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Although not a student of Professor Ilse Laude-Cirautas, Khabtagaeva feels deeply impact by Laude-Cirautas' scholarly work, namely the late scholar's early work *Der Gebrauch der Farbzeichnungen in den Türkdialekten*, which inspired Khabtagaeva's first paper, in 2001, on "Mongolic Colour Names and Their Suffixes" Although the work of Professor Laude-Cirautas was published in 1961, more than sixty years ago, it still remains the best and the most-important publication not only for studies on color terms in Turkic languages but for Turkology and Altaic studies in general.

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